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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW

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Art. 1.—MR PEPYS AS A MAN OF SCIENCE AND
PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

1. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. With an Introduction and Notes by G. Gregory Smith. Macmillan, 1905.
2. *Samuel Pepys*. By Percy Lubbock. Hodder and Stoughton, 1909.
3. *An Address on the Medical History of Mr and Mrs Samuel Pepys*. By d'Arcy Power, M.B. 'The Lancet,' June 1, 1895.
4. *The Life of Sir Robert Moray, Soldier, Statesman, and Man of Science (1608-1673)*. By Alexander Robertson. Longmans, 1922.
5. *The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge*. By Tho. Sprat, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Rochester. Fourth edition. London, 1734.
6. *A History of the Royal Society, with Memoirs of the Presidents*. Compiled from authentic documents by Charles Richard Weld. Two vols. John W. Parker, West Strand, 1848.

And other works.

PEPYS was a man with many sides to his character. Indeed, he presented so many facets to the world that he appears to have been almost globular. Numerous articles have been written on Pepys as a Diarist, Pepys as 'a lover of musique,' Pepys and the Navy, etc., but I do not think that hitherto any one has dealt with him as a man of science. It is true that Mr Percy Lubbock tells us that 'he was in no sense a scientist' (horrid word!), but one has to consider what science was in Pepys's day. It was in the reign of the Stewarts that

Vol. 245.—No. 486.

from a general amalgam of knowledge the sciences were slowly crystallising out, and from a mingled mass of learning, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, mineralogy, zoology, agriculture, and even physiology were beginning to assert claims to an individual and separate existence. The specialist was beginning to emerge from those who hitherto had taken 'all knowledge' to be their 'province.' The biological sciences in a peculiar way owed their ancestry to medicine, though the huntsman and the agriculturalist supplied their quota. Part of the great advancement that was being made in science during the 17th century was the result and partly the cause of the invention of many new instruments without whose aid little progress could have been made. The air-pump, the barometer, the thermometer, all came into being in the earlier part of this century, and were soon available for all who cared to use them. In 1664 Pepys purchased

'a microscope and a scotoscope. For the first I did give him 5*l.* 10*s.*, a great price, but a most curious bauble it is, and he says, as good, nay, the best he knows in England. The other he gives me, and is of value; and a curious curiosity it is to discover objects in a dark room with.'

Two years later, on Aug. 19, 1666, 'comes by agreement Mr Reeves, bringing me a lantern'—it must have been a magic lantern—'with pictures in glass, to make strange things appear on a wall, very pretty.'

If the great painters and writers of Elizabeth's time were not followed under the Stewarts by similar masters of their craft the balance was redressed on the side of science. Harvey and Newton replaced Dr Dee (one of whose books Pepys acquired) and Edward Kelly. Science was then the object of an insatiable curiosity, perhaps in a way childish. But it was collecting and recording the facts which later investigators could classify, systematise, and analyse. The sum of knowledge was not very great and specialisation had hardly begun. It was perfectly easy for a professor of those days to explain to an educated man the nature of his problem and how he proposed to solve it. Specialisation has now reached so high a degree that even very few experts can thoroughly grasp Einstein's theory of relativity, and it would take

a long time to explain to a mathematician the complicated process of karyokinesis.

Pepys was gifted with an undying and insatiable curiosity. Nothing was too trivial or too odd for his notice and record. His life was one long series of ecstasies. Being as he was a high official in the Admiralty anything to do with ships or the sea excited his interest. On March 14, 1662, he tells us, 'In the afternoon came the German, Dr Kuffler,* to discourse with us about his engine to blow up ships.' A year later he records :

'To the Trinity House, and there dined, where, among other discourse worth hearing among the old seamen, they tell us that they have catched often in Greenland whales with the iron grapnels that had formerly been struck into their bodies covered over with fat; that they have had eleven hogheads of oil out of the tongue of a whale.'

Although he knew nothing about microscopic protozoa which are largely responsible for phosphorescence of the ocean, he yet records the fact: 'I was astonished, and so were we all, at the strange nature of the sea-water in a dark night, that it seemed like fire upon every stroke of the oar, and, they say, is a sign of wind.'

Pepys was one of those selected to accompany the Commissioners on their trip to Holland to bring back Charles II and his Court, and he returned with them in most glorious weather to Dover, the King's vessel being surrounded by a convoy of thirty ships. It was about this time that his patron Lord Montagu said to him in his cabin one day: 'And we will rise together; in the meantime I will do you all the good jobs I can.' And shortly after he fulfilled his words, for Pepys was appointed to the Secretaryship of the Naval Board. His duties consisted in managing the mysteries of accounting, the rating of ships, the fixing of contracts, the checking of timber and measurements. Any one of these can have been no light task, and it is rather astonishing to learn that it was only on July 4, 1662, when Pepys was in his thirtieth year, that he began to learn the first four rules of arithmetic. On that date :

'Comes Mr Cooper, mate of the 'Royal Charles,' of whom

* He must have been a Prussian.

I intend to learn mathematics, and do begin with him to-day, he being a very able man; and no great matter, I suppose, will content him. After an hour's being with him at arithmetic (my first attempt being to learn the multiplication-table); then we parted till to-morrow.'

In spite of this remarkable lack ^{had been} of knowledge in the chief study of his University he was awarded on June 22 his Cambridge M.A. *in absentia*. As the words of the Grace record, he was excused attendance, being *apud mare adeo occupatissimus*. 1660

Although Pepys was much given to dalliance he was desperately jealous of his wife, and the jealousy must have reached a climax when his wife was taking lessons with Mr Pembleton the dancing-master. To distract her attention Pepys decided to teach his wife arithmetic, and before long he remarks: 'She is come to do Addition, common Subtraction and Multiplication very well, I purpose not to trouble her yet with Division; but to begin with Globes to her now.' One would, as usual, like to know what Mrs Pepys thought of it all. I cannot help feeling that she would have shared the opinion of Marjorie Fleming, 'I am now going to tell you the horrible and wretched plaegge [plague] that my multiplication gives me you can't conceive it the most Devilish thing is 8 times 8 and 7 times 7 it is what nature itself cant endure.' Although not a great mathematician himself he was a friend of Edward Cocker, an arithmetician whose name lingered on to my boyhood. 'According to Cocker' was then a frequent saying. When he wanted tables engraved upon his new slide rule it was to Cocker he went, and Pepys was immensely surprised at the skill and ability which the latter showed. He also took a keen interest in mechanical devices, and was much pleased to observe several engines that worked to draw up water as he walked through St James's Park. Above all the rest he liked that of Mr Greatorex, 'which do carry up the water with a great deal of ease.'

His troubled eyesight which led him to bring his Diary to an end caused him to take great interest in all optical instruments. On Aug. 7, 1666,

'Comes Mr Reeve, with a twelve-foot glass. Up to the top of the house, and there we endeavoured to see the moon,

and Saturn, and Jupiter; but the heavens proved cloudy, and so we lost our labour, having taken pains to get things together, in order to the managing of our long glass.'

And at a later date we find him on the leads studying astronomy:

'I find Reeves there, it being a mighty fine bright night, and so upon my leads, though very sleepy, till one in the morning, looking on the moon and Jupiter, with his twelve-foot glass, and another of six foot that he hath brought with him to-night, and the sights mighty pleasant, and one of the glasses I will buy.'

A few days later (Aug. 19, 1666) he continues his study with Mr Reeves, this time, as he records, on the Lord's Day:

'We did also at night see Jupiter and his girdle and satelites, very fine, with my twelve-foot glass, but not Saturn, he being very dark. Spong and I also had several fine discourses upon the globes this afternoon, particularly why the fixed stars do not rise and set at the same hour all the year long, which he could not demonstrate, nor I neither.'

On Oct. 24, after some scandal about the Duke of York and the Lord Chancellor's daughter, Pepys relates how he went to Mr Greatorex and found there Mr Spong and 'he did show me the manner of the lamp-glasses, which carry the light a great way, good to read in bed by, and I intend to have one of them.'

According to Sir d'Arcy Power, Pepys suffered from *hypermetropia*, a congenital or acquired error of refraction of the eye. To this was added in later life *presbyopia*, or the impairment of the power of accommodation in the eyes. This was progressive, and the two together probably accounts for his having to give up writing his beloved diary. As his eyes grew worse he consulted the King's Physician, Waldron, an Oxford M.D. He met him and others at an alehouse, including

'Turberville my physician for the eyes, and Lowre, to dissect several eyes of sheep and oxen, with great pleasure, and to my great information. But strange that this Turberville should be so great a man, and yet to this day had seen no eyes dissected, or but once, but desired this Dr Lowre to give him the opportunity to see him dissect some.'

But physicians were in vain. On May 31, 1669, we find the pathetic entry :

'And this ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes the keeping of my Journal, I being not able to do it any longer, having done it now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in the hand; and therefore whatever comes of it, I must forbear. . . . And so I betake myself to that course, which is almost as much as to see myself into my grave; for which, and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me!'

Pepys had an interest in mortuary subjects which was almost morbid. He records how 'Among other things, he and the Captains that were with us tell me that negroes drowned look white, and lose their blackness, which I never heard before.' A little later, during the plague, he visited Sir R. Viner, who, after displaying many artistic treasures, 'showed me a black boy that he had, that died of a consumption; and, being dead, he caused him to be dried in an oven, and lies there entire in a box.' On one occasion he walked during the morning to Surgeons' Hall, where they had a fine dinner 'and good learned company,' after which

'Dr Scarborough took some of his friends, and I went with them, to see the body of a lusty fellow, a seaman, that was hanged for robbery. I did touch the dead body with my bare hand; it felt cold, but methought it was a very unpleasant sight. It seems one Dillon, of a great family, was, after much endeavours to have saved him, hanged with a silken halter this Sessions, of his own preparing, not for honour only, but, it being soft and sleek, it do slip close and kills, that is, strangles presently; whereas a stiff one do not come so close together, and so the party may live the longer before killed. But all the Doctors at the table conclude that there is no pain at all in hanging, for that it do stop the circulation of the blood; and so stops all sense and motion in an instant.'

A little later Dr Pears tells him 'that the other day Clerke and he did dissect two bodies, a man and a woman, before the King, with which the King was highly pleased.' Pepys also records that the King himself dissected in his little laboratory under his closet, 'a pretty place' as the Diarist calls it, the body of a baby which

had been unduly introduced into the world during a Court Ball.

In Pepys's time the whole world loved music, and Pepys was very particular that his maids and boy should be able to take a part in a glee or a catch. He was as particular that they should take a competent part in singing as he was about their good looks. It may have been that his failing eyesight induced him to employ his spare time in song rather than in reading, though he read a good deal. At that time the severer forms of classical music hardly existed, and, except amongst the heathen, jazzing was unknown. Pepys delighted in all sorts of new musical instruments, and, although he showed no trace of deafness, he was pleased to try the new ear-trumpet of the 17th century: 'Here to my great content, I did try the use of the Otacousticon, which was only a great glass bottle broke at the bottom, putting the neck to my ear, and there I did plainly hear the dancing of the oars of the boats in the Thames to Arundel gallery window, which, without it, I could not in the least do, and may, I believe, be improved to a great height, which I am mighty glad of.' On another occasion he 'discoursed with Mr Hooke about the nature of sounds, and he did make me understand the nature of musical sounds made by strings, mighty prettily; and told me that having come to a certain number of vibrations proper to make any tone, he is able to tell how many strokes a fly makes with her wings (those flies that hum in their flying) by the note that it answers to in music during their flying. That, I suppose, is a little too much refined; but his discourse in general of sound was mighty fine.'

He even invented a series of mechanical contrivances for composing or recording music which is still in the Library at Magdalene and has, I believe, never been completely understood. Pepys himself could play on many instruments, the lute, viola, harpsichord, flageolet, theorbo, and others. He was fond of the company of musicians and records many evenings spent with them. After a good deal of hesitation he expended five pounds over a spinet, but never became an expert performer on it. He studied the art of composition under an Irishman and composed several songs.

The most outstanding feature of Pepys in relation to science was his connexion with the Royal Society. This Society was a gradual growth, and its origin may be traced to weekly meetings of men engaged in philosophical inquiries who came together to discuss matters of scientific interest. These meetings began about 1648. But after a few years many of the members moved to Oxford and independently met in that University. The meetings of those that remained in London were interrupted owing to the troubles of the times, but after the Restoration it was decided to organise a formal society consisting of those who hitherto had met without formality.

In the words of Wallis, who had been educated at Felsted and at Emmanuel College, and had received the curiously wide education of the times, the members of the weekly meetings were 'divers worthy persons inquisitive into natural philosophy, and other parts of human learning, and particularly of what hath been called the *New Philosophy* or *Experimental Philosophy*.' And there is no doubt that these gatherings of men of science are the 'invisible college' of which Boyle so frequently speaks in his letters. The meetings were held either at the Bull Head Tavern or in Dr Goddard's lodgings in Wood Street, but most frequently at Gresham College. Whatever the political and moral deficiencies of the Stewart kings, no one of them lacked intelligence in things artistic and scientific. The pictures at Windsor and at Buckingham Palace which the nation owes to Charles I and Charles II are only approached by those it owes to the knowledge and taste of Queen Victoria's consort.

It has, I think, seldom been pointed out that Charles II's ancestry accounts for many of his qualities and especially for his interest in science. He was very unlike his father, but his mother was the daughter of a Medici princess, and the characteristics of that family are strongly marked in the 'merry monarch.' His gaiety and wit and his skill in money matters when he chose to apply himself, all bring to mind the Italian family from which he sprang. Even the swarthy complexion of Charles II was probably due to his Italian blood, and his fondness for outdoor sports is another trait which

is often observed in the Medici themselves. There is an old engraving of a portrait of Lorenzo (d. 1648), the brother of Cosimo II, which shows an astonishing resemblance to Charles II; and it is interesting to remember that Cosimo II earned his chief claim to the gratitude of posterity by his courageous encouragement, protection, and support of Galileo, who owed to him the opportunity and means of making his famous astronomical discoveries.

Charles II established, 250 years ago, the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, and thirteen years later, in 1662, he granted the first Charter to the Royal Society, which was supplanted the following year by a revised charter which conferred on the Society its present title, 'The Royal Society of London for Promoting Natural Knowledge (*pro scientia naturali promovenda*).' Gresham College now became the regular meeting-place of the Society. At that time the foundation of formal colleges was being much canvassed. Evelyn and Cowley had both drawn up schemes, but unfortunately nothing came of them. At that time the Universities did not look with great favour upon the new movement, and much of its vigour was due to men of leisure and men of affairs. At first it was agreed that the number of the Society be fixed at fifty-five. 'Barons, Fellows of the College of Physicians and public Professors of Mathematics, of Physics, of Natural Philosophy of both Universities being supernumerary.' Sir Robert Moray was chosen as the first President, and he retained this office for a year or so until the Royal Charter was granted. On June 21, 1661, Moray wrote hopefully to Huygens: 'Dans quelques jours nous espérons que notre Société sera établie de la bonne sorte.' And on Oct. 16 he was able to announce that 'he and Sir Paul Neil * kissed the King's hands in the company's name, and is entreated by them to return most humble thanks to His Majesty for the reference he was pleased to grant to their petitions; and for the favour and honour he was pleased to offer of himself to be entered one of the Society.' The fact that the King had joined the Society is noted by Pepys just before his own election: 'I saw

* Pepys spells the name Neale.

the Royal Society bring their new book, wherein is nobly writ their charter and laws, and comes to be signed by the Duke as a Fellow; and all the Fellows are to be entered there, and lie as a monument; and the King hath put his, with the word Founder.'

Moray had in hand all the arrangements for the establishment of the Royal Society, and it may be said of him, as Cowley wrote of Bacon, Moray,

'Like Moses, lead us forth at last
The barren Wilderness he past,
Did on the very Border stand
Of the blest promis'd Land,
And from the Mountain's Top of his Exalted Wit
Saw it himself, and shew'd us it.'

For with the granting of the Royal Charter was elected the first President of the Society under the Charter. He was Viscount Brouncker, of Castle Lyons, in the Irish Peerage. Pepys records that his father gave 1200*l.* to be made an Irish Lord, and swore the same day that he had not twelve pennies left to pay for his dinner. Brouncker was a master of many languages and a good mathematician. He was the first to introduce continued fractions and to give a series for the quadrature of a portion of the equilateral hyperbola. But these are not very remunerative products, and Pepys records the gossip of his maidservants that the Brounckers were very hard up. In spite of one or two peevish entries I think Pepys must have got on pretty well with the Viscount. He records on Nov. 18, 1664, 'I had a letter from Mr Coventry that tells me that my Lord Brouncker is to be one of our Commissioners, of which I am very glad, if any more must be.' And three weeks later: 'At the office, where comes my Lord Brouncker with his patent in his hand; and I in his coach with him to the 'Change, where he set me down; a modest, civil person he seems to be, but wholly ignorant in the business of the Navy as possible, but I hope to make a friend of him, being a worthy man.' It was the time of a good deal of backbiting and a good deal of gossip. 'Besides, Sir G. Carteret did tell me to-night how my Lord Brouncker, whose good-will I could have depended as much on as any, did himself to take notice

of the many places I have; and, though I was a painful man, yet the Navy was enough for any man to go through with in his own single place there, which much troubles me, and yet shall provoke me to more and more care and diligence than ever.' When the Naval Board was arraigned before a Parliamentary Committee it was Pepys upon whom fell the main burden of defending their action. He was examined on many points of administration, and came off fairly well, none of his colleagues intervening except Commissioner Pett, who made a lamentable display of ineffectiveness, and Lord Brouncker, who put in 'two or three silly words.' The worst thing perhaps that he says about the President was after hearing the complaints of Mrs Turner as to his behaviour about some house, 'by which I perceive he is a rotten-hearted, false man, and, therefore I must beware of him accordingly.' Brouncker remained President for fourteen years, and was succeeded by Sir Joseph Williamson, M.P., Keeper of the King's Library at Whitehall, and Clerk to the Council, Sir Christopher Wren, the incomparable architect, Sir John Hoskins, Bart., and Sir Cyril White, who respectively held the appointment for three, two, one, and one years.

It was on Feb. 15, 1665, that Pepys records :

'Thence with Creed to Gresham College, where I had been by Mr Povy the last week proposed to be admitted a member; and was this day admitted, by signing a book and being taken by the hand of the President, my Lord Brouncker, and some words of admittance said to me. But it is a most acceptable thing to hear their discourse, and see their experiments; which were this day on fire, and how it goes out in a place where the air is not free, and sooner out where the air is exhausted, which they showed by an engine on purpose. After this being done, they to the Crown Tavern, behind the 'Change, and there my Lord and most of the company to a club supper; Sir P. Neale, Sir R. Murray, Dr Clerke, Dr Whistler, Dr Goddard, and others of most eminent worth. Above all, Mr Boyle was at the meeting, and above him Mr Hooke, who is the most, and promises the least, of any man in the world that I ever saw.'

Povy, who introduced him or stood sponsor for him, was Member of Parliament for Liskeard, and held a
Vol. 245.—No. 486.

high position at Court and many offices. But apparently he had not the training of an accountant: 'To Whitehall, where a Committee of Tangier, but, Lord! to see what a degree of contempt, nay, scorn, Mr Povy, through his prodigious folly, hath brought on himself in his accounts, that if he be not a man of great interest, he will be kicked out of his employment for a fool.'

In 1684 Pepys was elected President of the Royal Society, and even if his own great Diary had not given him immortality, he would be always remembered because Newton's 'Principia,' accepted and published by the Royal Society, was licensed by him during his term of office, and bears upon it the words, '*Imprimatur. S. Pepys Reg. Soc. Præses, Julii 5, 1686.*'

To give some idea of the sort of men who were leaders of Science at the time when Pepys began his two years' Presidency of the Society, we may briefly run through the members of the Council. There was Sir Anthony Dean, the well-known shipmaster at Harwich and Victualling Commissioner of the Navy. He was an inventive man and built ships for Louis XIV. With Pepys he was accused of plotting against the King, but both were soon discharged with the consent of the Crown. Pepys was very much indebted to him for revealing many mysteries of 'shipwrichtry.' Then there was Nathaniel Henshaw, M.D., of Leyden, who practised in Dublin, and was the author of a curious little treatise called the 'Aero Chalinos,' which went into a second edition. A third was Abraham Hill, a successful man of business and a good linguist, who devoted his spare time to collecting books and coins and lived in Gresham College. He was the author of a Life of Isaac Barrow. The Dean of York, Dr Thomas Gale, was also a member. He was educated under Busby at Westminster, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. Later he became Regius Professor of Greek, but resigned it to become High Master of St Paul's School. He married Barbara, a daughter of Thomas Pepys of Impington, a connexion of the diarist. Dr Frederick Slare, a pupil of Thomas Sydenham and an M.D. of Oxford, was a member. He experimented a good deal with phosphorus and carried on many investigations into the physiology of the blood; but his chief claim to fame appears to be that he

brought into use Epsom Salts. Dr Martin Lister, of St John's College, Cambridge, was also there. He practised in York, and was Physician to Queen Anne, and he was one of the first of British zoologists to study spiders. The eminent astronomer, Mr Halley, was further on the Council. He had been elected to the Fellowship at the unusually early age of 22. He succeeded Flamsteed as Astronomer Royal in 1721. During the last few years of his life he seems to have dosed himself perhaps unduly, for at last, tiring of doctors and tiring of his doctors' prescriptions, he called for a glass of wine, drank it, and almost immediately expired. After all, he was in his eighty-sixth year. There was also Mr William Musgrave, of Winchester and New College, who practised at Oxford and Exeter. He was Secretary of the Society for a short period in 1685, but on retiring received a service of plate. An ancestor of the present Earl of Berkeley, the well-known physicist, George, first Earl and ninth Baron, was a Christ Church man, and was one of the Commissioners who went to the Hague to invite the return of Charles II. His chief remains are various religious works. Mr Daniel Colwall was a wealthy citizen who was Treasurer for fourteen years. He twice presented the Society with 50*l*. and a collection of rarities which so stirred the imagination of Dr Grew that he inscribed in their catalogue the following sentence: 'Besides the particular regard you had to the Royal Society itself, which seeming (in the opinion of some) to look a little pale, you intend hereby to put some fresh blood into their cheeks, pouring out your box of oyntment, not in order to their burial, but their resurrection.'

Sir John Hoskins, second Baronet, as we mentioned above, was President of the Society. He also had been educated under Busby at Westminster. Evelyn had been asked to stand for the Presidency, but retired in favour of Sir John, who is described as 'a most learned virtuoso as well as a lawyer,' but who was 'one of the most hard-featured men of his time.' A portrait of Sir John and his wife by Peter Lely is now in the possession of a descendant, the present Bishop of Southwell. Sir Cyril Wyche, another Councillor, was probably born at Constantinople, where his father was Ambassador, and

was named after his godfather, Cyril the Patriarch. He was one of the original ninety-eight men interested in Natural Knowledge that were elected as original members in 1668. He married a daughter of a niece of John Evelyn, who speaks of Wyke as an honourable and learned gentleman. John Creed, whose name occurs so frequently through Pepys's Diary, seems to have sprung from somewhat humble origin, but he married the well-known philanthropist, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Pickering, Bart, whose wife was sister of the first Earl of Sandwich. In 1660 he was nominated Deputy-Treasurer of the Fleet, and in 1662 Secretary to the Commissioners for Tangiers. The following year he was received as F.R.S. Pepys both feared and disliked him as a puritan and as one who was averse to the King's return. However, Creed adapted himself to the times and acquired considerable wealth.

Francis Aston, another member, was elected Secretary in 1685, and, according to Halley, he suddenly, after a very short period, threw it up 'after such a very passionate manner, that I fear he has lost many of his friends by it.' In order to avoid being similarly treated on any future occasion, the Society decided to have only honorary secretaries. The first two were Sir John Hoskins and Dr Thomas Gale. But the quarrel did not last long, for Mr Aston was presented with a gratuity of 60*l.*, and he left the Society in 1715, a small estate in Lincolnshire, a considerable number of books, and 445*l.* There was also Mr Hook, of whom more will be said later; Mr Waller, who was Secretary to the Society for twenty years and of whom beyond the editing of the transactions, I have found little record of his activities; and finally, a Mr Meredith, of whom I can find nothing at all except that his Christian name was Roger. These men who formed the Council of the Royal Society do not differ very markedly from their successors. There was perhaps rather a larger proportion of medical men in Pepys's time, and the business merchant that he mentions is largely replaced at the present day by the big commercial chemist and the engineer.

Pepys records many curious experiments while he was a frequenter of Gresham House. In his time the air-pump had but recently been invented, and there are

numerous experiments being made with it. On March 22, 1665, he writes as follows: 'Thence to Gresham College, and there did see a kitling killed almost quite, but that we could not quite kill her, with such a way: the air out of a receiver, wherein she was put, and then the air being let in upon her revives her immediately; and this air is to be made by putting together a liquor and some body that ferments, the steam of that do do the work.' Many experiments were also made with poisons on animals. The Florence poison mentioned in the next extract is probably an aqueous solution of White Arsenic.* 'To Gresham College, where we saw some experiments upon a hen, a dog, and a cat, of the Florence poison. The first it made for a time drunk, but it came to itself again quickly; the second it made to vomit mightily, but no other hurt. The third I did not stay to see the effect of it.' 'The great poison of Maccassa,' the gum of the tree *Schleichera trijuga* with which the Malays poison their arrows, was also experimented with: 'Anon to Gresham College, where, among other good discourse, there was tried the great poison of Maccassa upon a dog, but it had no effect all the time we sat there.' The action of opium was being investigated, and on May 16, 1664, Pepys goes

'with Mr Pierce, the surgeon, to see an experiment of killing a dog, by letting opium into his hind legs. He and Dr Clerke did fail mightily in hitting the vein, and in effect did not do the business after many trials; but, with the little they got in, the dog did presently fall asleep, and so lay till we cut him up, and a little dog also, which they put it down his throat; he also staggered first, and then fell asleep, and so continued. Whether he recovered or no, after I was gone, I know not.'

The transfusion of blood attracted great attention, and he records how 'Dr Crome told me that, at the meeting at Gresham College to-night, which, it seems, they now have every Wednesday again, there was a

* The Librarian of the Chemical Society has kindly looked up the tests referred to by Pepys and has been good enough to tell me that the action of this poison on animals would be consistent with poisoning by White Arsenic. There was a great outbreak of poisoning in Italy about the middle of the 17th century. This probably accounts for the name.

pretty experiment of the blood of one dog let out, till he died, into the body of another on one side, while all his own ran out on the other side. The first died upon the place, and the other very well, and likely to do well.' But not content with transfusing the blood of the same species into another specimen they tried the transfusion of sheep's blood into a man's veins, apparently with no ill-effect, but the account of it contains a curious story about Dr Caius, who re-founded the College of Gonville and Caius at Cambridge. The Thomas Muffet or Moffett mentioned below was a physician and author of '*De Jure et Præstantia Chemicorum Medicamentorum Dialogus Apologeticus*' (1584), from which Christopher Bennet (1617-55) compiled his '*Health's Improvement, or Rules for Preparing all sorts of Food.*'

'And good discourse; amongst the rest, of a man that is a little frantic, that hath been a kind of minister, Dr Wilkins saying that he hath read for him in his church, that is poor and a debauched man, that the College have hired for 20s. to have some of the blood of a sheep let into his body; and it is to be done on Saturday next. They purpose to let in about twelve ounces; which, they compute, is what will be let in in a minute's time by a watch. On this occasion, Dr Whistler told a pretty story related by Muffet, a good author, of Dr Caius, that built Caius College; that, being very old, and living only at that time upon woman's milk, he, while he fed upon the milk of an angry, fretful woman, was so himself; and then, being advised to take it of a good-natured, patient woman, he did become so, beyond the common temper of his age.'

The 'poor and debauched' man who was 'a little frantic' seems to have stood the transfusion well, as the following note testified:

'I was pleased to see the person who had his blood taken out. He speaks well, and did thus give the Society a relation thereof in Latin, saying that he finds himself much better since, and as a new man, but he is cracked a little in his head, though he speaks very reasonably, and very well. He had but 20s. for his suffering it, and is to have the same again tried upon him.'

Obviously in the Stewart times the knowledge of respiration was only at its beginning, and in 1660 Pepys

records that Sir George Ent (1604-89), afterwards President of the College of Physicians, 'pleased me most . . . about respiration; that it is not to this day known, or concluded on, among physicians, nor to be done either, how the action is managed by nature, or for what use it is.'

Pepys, although a generous man at times, was fond of his money, and was not in a hurry to part with it, and I think there is a certain note of regret in his statement in the spring of 1668: 'With Lord Brouncker to the Royal Society, where they had just done; but there I was forced to subscribe, to the building of a College, and did give 40*l*.' There was a good deal of 'science,' falsely so-called, and superstition still lingering, just as it lingers to-day, only to-day it has taken the form of crystal-gazing, palm-reading, table-turning, and other forms of credulity. 'At table I had a very good discourse with Mr Ashmole, wherein he did assure me that frogs and many insects do often fall from the sky, ready formed.' Mr Ashmole bequeathed his great collections to the University of Oxford on condition that a suitable building be built to receive them, and this was done according to the designs of Sir Christopher Wren. Ashmole's collections were then added to those of Tradescant, whose name is rather unfairly displaced by that of his successor. There is an old tradition that when swallows disappear they hide under water, and even in the times of Gilbert White he seems to think that they hibernated instead of migrating. Pepys's account was very circumstantial. But an even clearer narration is that of Mr Templer, who discourses on serpents, larks, and tarantulas. 'Swallows are often brought up in their nets out of the mud from under water, hanging together to some twig or other, dead 'in ropes; and brought to the fire will come to life.' Dr Johnson held the same opinion. He states: 'Swallows certainly sleep all the winter. A number of them conglobulate together, by flying round and round, and then all in a heap throw themselves under water, and lye in the bed of a river.' Further, at

'my Lord Crewe's, where one Mr Templer, an ingenious man and a person of honour he seems to be, dined; and, discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some in the

waste places of Lancashire do grow to a great bigness, and do feed upon larks, which they take thus;—They observe when the lark is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them; and there they place themselves with their mouth uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do eject poison up to the bird; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent; which is very strange. He is a great traveller; and, speaking of the tarantula, he says that all the harvest long (about which times they are most busy) there are fiddlers go up and down the fields everywhere, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung.'

Twelve years after the Diary was brought to an end, Pepys, who was then in his forty-ninth year and had recently been 'jockeyed out his Secretaryship,' received an interesting suggestion, which is thus recorded in Mr Percy Lubbock's 'Pepys':

'In the . . . year, 1681, there was a chance that Pepys might find a highly congenial retreat at Cambridge, where he would have leisure to devote himself to his long-planned history of the navy. A friend of his, by name Maryon, a Fellow of Clare Hall, wrote to say that Sir Thomas Page, Provost of King's, was just dead, and to suggest that Pepys might like to succeed him; the Provostship of King's was worth 700*l.* a year, and he felt sure that Pepys' candidature would be acceptable to the College and to the whole University. The proposal was a tempting one; Pepys modestly declared that his "stock of academic knowledge" was not such as a Provost of King's ought to possess, but he was evidently pleased with the idea.'

It is a pity that the diarist was so modest. He would have conferred distinction on the College, which is more than can be said for Sir Thomas Page's successor, John Coplestone, who does not even attain the dignity of being mentioned in the Dictionary of National Biography, and about whom Austen Leigh, in the History of his College, says that he 'was born at Lyme and had the living of Chagford and he was called a good preacher and an honest man.' The only act recorded of him as Provost is administering to all the Fellows the oaths against the right of the Pope to excommunicate Princes and against transubstantiation.

Although Pepys did not make one single advance in natural knowledge, he was in frequent communication

with philosophers. He consults Sir Isaac Newton on the mathematical law of hazard, and Newton explains it with much learning. The man to whom Willoughby's 'Historia Piscium' (1685-86), Dr Richard Cumberland's Essay on Jewish weights and measures (1686), and, lastly, the South Sea 'Voyages and Discoveries of Sir John Narborough' (1694), are all dedicated must have been a man of weight in the scientific world. But he was interested in all sorts of things. He formed a collection of letters giving the experience of numerous friends on the subject of Scotch second sight. On Nov. 24, 1666, the Diary records: 'To read the late printed discourse of witches by a member of Gresham College; the discourse being well writ, in good style, but methinks not very convincing.' This is a reference to the 'Philosophical Considerations touching Whiteches and Witchcraft,' by Joseph Glanvill (1660). In looking over his innumerable papers to select what was worth keeping he found two or three notes which he thought fit to keep. These contain charms for the staunching of blood, against cramp, and against burning. They are set out in full in the Diary on the last day of 1664. After his retirement Pepys still entertained as long as his health lasted every Saturday night a number of the virtuosi, and seems to have found much comfort in their presence. One cannot close this article in a better way than by quoting what Evelyn writes of his friend on the day of Pepys's death:

'This day died Mr Sam Pepys, a very worthy, industrious, and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy, in which he had passed thro' all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all of which he performed with great integrity. When K. James II went out of England he laid down his office and would serve no more, but withdrawing himselfe from all public affaires, he liv'd at Clapham with his partner, Mr Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble and sweete place, where he enjoyed the fruits of his labours in great prosperity.' 'He was universally belov'd, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a greate cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation.'

A. E. SHIPLEY.

Art. 2.—SUGGESTIONS FOR FARMERS.

THE development in this country of agricultural machinery synchronises with the passing of the old-time agricultural labourer. Elderly farmers will tell you that, when they were children, the village held a surplus of workers. While there were many men whose record of regular employment might extend for fifty or even sixty years before Time beckoned them from the field to the fireside, there were others in the village who had some small business or occupation that they were prepared to leave in time of emergency, in order to help with the making of the hay or the ingathering of the corn. There were children and to spare, ready and able to help the mothers when the strawberries, the peas, or the hops were ripe. There were thatchers in plenty, and men who earned a fair living by mole-draining, and were content to trim a neglected hedge for the wood it yielded, or to clean ditches and free the banks of small rivers from the obstructions that led to the flooding of the lower lands and the accumulation of dead water.

Those who tell of these times are speaking of more than fifty years ago. Since then the number of workers on the land has declined by something like half a million, and the arable acreage is probably less by four millions. Countless cottages have disappeared. Many were held under obsolete tenures, copyhold being one of the worst of these, and when a man died leaving heirs who were unable to pay the necessary fine or herriot to the lord of the manor, neither side could take possession, and by the time the owner was able to enforce his rights, the cottage, never stoutly built, had passed beyond repair. I have seen some of these copyhold cottages in East Anglia with windows broken by the village boys, thatch riddled by starlings, and thistles forcing their way through the scanty floor-boards; the tragedy that brooded over them fell upon the spirit that is within or beyond the sense. Little wonder if the population of the hamlets has tended to decline.

The Small Holdings Act of 1908 and the Land Settlement Act that followed the war, may between them have placed thirty thousand men on the land; but the cost of the post-war measure was in the neighbourhood

of twenty million pounds, and it is proposed to write off some seven or eight million pounds as an admitted loss. So it becomes clear that the present movement towards settlement, admirable though it is in many ways, will not do much to repopulate our rural areas, while in very few cases does the small-holder pay an agricultural rent for his land. He is expected to pay much more. If a small-holder rents five acres he must pay four times as much as the man who rents five hundred, and nobody knows why.

The drift from the countryside started long before the Great War, but the epic struggle gave it an impetus that no Land Settlement Act has been able to stem. Men who came back fully assured that they wanted nothing more than the peace and tranquillity of their familiar village found, after a little while, that it was well-nigh impossible to settle down. They had seen life in action, they missed and pined for excitement. To-day, the motor-bus, the charabanc, the gramophone, the 'wireless,' the village club, the women's institute, are broadening the outlook of the middle-aged countryman, and they serve to make him contented with his lot, but the effect upon the children is quite different. All these developments are so many calls from a world of gaiety and excitement of which they have caught a glimpse, and if you speak to the agricultural labourer who has a large family, not only will he tell you that his girls have no desire to go into domestic service, and his boys do not wish to go on the land, but, so far as the boys are concerned, he will often say that he does not blame them. He points out that the minimum wage leaves no margin for saving or safety. Sometimes he will add that he knows his master cannot afford to raise the wages. He hears on all sides of lads, his neighbours' sons, even his own, who have taken the plunge and gone up to London, or to some large town, have found a job in some works, engineering the most popular, and are now earning, under cover, twice and thrice as much money as he gathers for labour in all weathers on the land. They live in a crowded street, too, amid picture palaces, with omnibuses round the corner; and though this may not appeal to him, it will appeal to his wife. There are few of the younger generation of country women who do not pine for a town.

All observers admit the seriousness of the outlook in the rural areas, but perhaps few realise how far more grave it would be if we had not in the past few years made enormous strides in agricultural engineering. To-day, no far vision is required to see the time when most of the hard labour and much of the uncertainty of food production will have passed from our farms, when the hand plough, whether it be the old heavy type that only a man could handle, or the lighter kind that many a stripling can use, will be as remote from farming practice as the scythe itself, when few horses will be seen on the fields, when every process that demands time will be speeded up, and on the farm, as in the factory, a lad will be able to regulate the machinery that does several men's work. Much of this pioneer labour has already passed out of the experimental stage, there is sufficient machinery available to-day, not only to serve the farmer, but to aid the village; unfortunately, knowledge moves slowly, and the Ministry of Agriculture has no means of disseminating effectively the information collected by a considerable staff of experts.

It is well to remember that man's capacity as a power producer is an eighth of that of a horse. On the heavy land of England three or even four horses are required to carry the plough, and a good day's work may yield one acre ploughed. On the other hand, a motor tractor working over the same land will plough four acres in the same time, and in the last few years, as a result of experiment and competition, these tractors are far more reliable than they were. When they were first introduced into England, and when, under the stimulus of war, it became necessary to import an American variety, and to harness a rather ineffective plough, it was hard to obtain efficient service in case of damage, large or small. The local blacksmith was never an engineer, the man who kept the cycle shop in the village had probably been called to the front, and one or two boys were taking his place. The result was that many a tractor fell, never to rise again on the land it sought to serve, and I remember in the course of a tour through England at the close of war—a tour undertaken to investigate agricultural conditions—finding many a derelict tractor in many a field, and hearing farmers declare roundly

that so soon as they were able they would go back to horses. Yet, just less than two months ago, a leading farmer told me that he had reduced his horses from seventy to six, and was saving quite a lot of money by the reduction. His team of tractors is in the keeping of a trained man.

It is not only in ploughing, the primitive immemorial labour of mankind, that the good effects of machinery are felt; there are many varieties of mechanical aid to be found on the modern farm. As recently as four years ago, Potato-Lifting Trials were conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture and Leeds University. It had been found that between hand forking and a two-horse potato plough, there was a saving of 4*l.* 10*s.* an acre. By using a rotary machine, the average profit per acre in 1921 came out at 40%. To-day, cows are milked by machinery on many farms, and all the small operations, such as chaff cutting, root pulping, and the rest, are done by the aid of power. Few people who see the threshing machine at work realise that some of the very old farm labourers still preserve the flails that they used in their youth and prime. One East Anglian, who is only just seventy, can tell of the days when he worked in a barn with another man throughout the winter, threshing beans with the flail and feeding the bullocks with the straw. It was considered quite a desirable job in those days, though the wages were but ten shillings a week, because it was under cover and no time was lost. From the day when the beans were carted down to the time when spring planting called all the men on to the land, those two were fully occupied. The distance separating the flail from the threshing machine is considerable, but to all seeming, it is no further than the distance separating many of our present-day methods from those that will be in vogue within a very few years.

At the present time, three developments of really striking importance are coming within the farmer's reach at a price within his means. They are: The Crop-Drying Machine, the Wind Motor, and a new Sub-Soiling Tine, and in this connexion, it is interesting to recall the fact that when the first machines were being used on farms, there was a fairly general opinion expressed in many parts of the country that their use was an act

of impiety. Providence, men said, had regulated the pace of agricultural labour, and it was dangerous, if not actually irreligious, to speed it up. In the same way, it may be remembered that when Paget first used chloroform in confinements, there was an outcry from those who believed in a Divine ordinance that women should bring forth children in sorrow, and it was left for Paget to counter this objection very cleverly by reminding his critics that when our universal forefather was operated on for the production of Eve, 'the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam.' Even to-day, there are many agricultural workers, and even a few farmers, who regard machinery with suspicion and look upon a ruined harvest as an act of Providence, against which it is hopeless to strive. Yet when the new crop-drying machinery is generally known—and it is worth remarking that one machine of this kind received a silver medal at the Royal Agricultural Show this summer—such a harvest as some farmers have had to face this year will be a thing of the past.

To-day, it is possible not only to make hay when the sun shines, but to make it while the rain is falling. The method is quite simple, though the present stage of development has only been reached as the result of several years of close experiment, partly in Switzerland and partly at Oxford, where the Institute of Agricultural Engineering working under the direction of the Ministry of Agriculture is making remarkable progress in many directions. The new method of drying crops is quite simple. The stack, whether the crop be hay or corn, is built round a central frame of wood and wire, from which a pipe passes to the drying machine. The machine itself consists of an outer frame enclosing cylinders over which by the aid of paraffin vapour lamps, air is heated to a given temperature, this temperature varying with the crop to be dried. The hot air is driven into the pipe by means of an ordinary motor to which a belt is attached, and through the pipe to the centre of the stack, and through the centre of the stack to all parts of it. At the time of writing, it is still necessary to make circular stacks and to limit the dimensions to twelve tons, but this size and shape will undoubtedly be variable later on. The actual cost of using the machinery,

whether in wet weather or dry, is less than the cost of hand labour. For example, the making of hay in the field comes out at 4s. 6d. a ton in good weather, and the drying of hay in the stack at 2s. 6d. Carting and stacking cost more when the grass is picked up green, and the difference is about a shilling a ton, so that even in good weather there is a profit of a shilling on the use of the machine. But in bad weather, the cost of making in the fields is doubled, so that there is a balance of 5s. 6d. per ton in favour of the machine, which is costing at present something in the neighbourhood of 100l. Doubtless, as more and more come into the market, this price will be greatly reduced, for the profit must be considerable. Moreover, and this is a very important matter, hay artificially dried is more nutritious than hay made in the open; it is found by experiment that there is less loss in productive nutriment. It is claimed for the crop-drying machines that they can harvest any crop in any weather, that they can eliminate field labour, that they can produce a better quality of hay, that they enable the corn fields to be cleared so that the autumn ploughing can proceed as soon as ever weather permits, that straw dried by the machine has a greater feeding value; finally, a hard sample of grain can be obtained within a week of cutting corn in any weather. The cost of running is limited to paraffin and petrol. At present, if wheat is harvested wet, it must wait in the stack for the March winds to complete the drying, and by that time vermin will have reduced the value of the crop to an extent that is seldom realised, save by those who have studied the question closely.

Another point in favour of the crop-drying machine, though it is one that has a more restricted interest, is that it enables the farmer who grows for the great seed-selling firms to harvest his crop under far more favourable conditions than those which usually obtain. In fact, it may be said that the crop-drying plant will eliminate the bad harvests, and what this means to the farmer, let those testify whose winter oats were ready for cutting in the middle of July in the summer that has passed, and whose other corn crops were following in close succession. The old days, when corn remained out on the fields until sometimes the autumn

floods carried away what birds and vermin had left, or in the absence of floods, the grain sprouted in the ear, will be forgotten in a few years, when the crop-drying machine has been perfected, cheapened, and brought to the service of every holding, large or small. Many farmers are forced to-day to borrow on the security of crops that cannot be sold for months to come because of the condition in which they were harvested. It will be cheaper to buy, borrow, or hire the new drying plant, though it is hard to borrow machinery that was not bought for hire since it has such a brief and busy season.

Another invention which, while it promises to be of immense value to the farmer will also serve the countryside throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain, is the Wind Motor. Nothing very definite has been said of its origins, but apparently, the invention comes from Germany, where some examples are in use. Certainly one of the most effective of the wind motors now on sale is that invented by Major Bilau. At the same time, it is understood that Denmark has been experimenting with one of these machines for some time past, and the mill exhibited at the Royal Agricultural Show this summer was of Danish origin. The underlying idea of the invention is primarily to supply light and power to farmland, so that no matter where the farmer may have his holding, he may enjoy the advantages that would come to him if he were within one of the great electricity areas, while at the same time, when his plant is established, power to work it will come from the air, and he will need no assistance save that which may be called for on those few days in the year when the wind fails. The average wind speed in these islands has not yet been ascertained; it is said to range somewhere between twelve and twenty miles an hour, while the wind motor becomes effective when the speed is no more than eight or nine, some indeed can work in a six-mile-an-hour breeze. Experiments have been carried out with six or seven different types of machine for some time past, the rights in those from Germany and Denmark have been acquired by English companies, and we may expect to see a considerable choice on the market in the next few months when some of the questions that count have

found their final answer. The cost will be little more than installation and maintenance.

The effect of the wind motor as a labour-saver is hard to over-estimate. It will do away with such hand labour as is called for in pumping, chaff and silage cutting, milking, cream separating, fire lighting. It will serve the farmhouse and the farm buildings, and in this connexion, it may be remembered that if stock can enjoy a few extra hours of light in the winter, they feed late and tend to become more thrifty, while vermin will be more reluctant to venture out in search of their food. It is not difficult to see the expansion of the wind motor to the service of the village itself. Not only will it remove the reproach of dullness from the streets, but by bringing power within the reach of places far removed from the area of gas or electricity undertakings, it will enable many a village industry to revive and find a paying basis. A few years ago, the Electricity Commissioners had a vast scheme to supply power, a scheme which appeared to include the absorption of small interests and the elimination of waste, but apparently, there were many difficulties in the path, and at the time of writing, the question of a national supply of electricity coming from centres where coal or water are available in the necessary quantity would appear to have fallen into the decent obscurity of Cabinet consideration.

If the wind motor can be perfected, and there is no reason to believe that the difficulties at present unsolved are insoluble, then every village should be independent and every farm should be able further to reduce its costs of food production, and to improve both the quality of the labour it employs and the rate of wages paid for it. Clearly, whether we consider crop-drying machinery or the electric motor, we find that skilled service of a kind little known in farmland will be required in the near future, and it may be that the beginnings of this service can well be taught in the village school, since nothing appeals more strongly to the young mind than the chance of handling a machine. There is some talk in official circles of extending the very limited area of secondary schools with a rural bias, and if this is done the rising generation will be prepared to meet the new conditions. Not only is it likely that motors driven by

wind power can compete effectively with commercial electricity, but the cost of one of these appliances without storage batteries will probably be found to stand round about 100%. when they are first placed on the market; while, as new types and designs supersede the early ones, there is no reason to suppose that the price will not decline, as it should do in the case of the crop-drying plant. The question of storage batteries is, of course, a large one, because they are very expensive, and if they were indispensable, might place the motor beyond the reach of the man with limited means. Against this, we have to remember, first, that the days when no wind is blowing are few and far between, and secondly, that when they do arrive, it might be easily possible to run the wind motor for a few days either by the aid of a motor-car engine, or one of those small portable gas-engines which are part of the equipment of every modern farm. That there are difficulties still to be overcome is admitted on every side, but the fact remains that some of these machines are already producing electricity, and the need for their services is so great, the reward for making them cheap and effective so certain, that there is no reason at all to doubt the result of the present endeavours.

In the mean time, the Institute of Agricultural Engineering at Oxford is collecting all manner of data and studying every problem on an experimental farm in Bedfordshire. The present methods of converting wind power into mechanical power and thence to electrical energy may not prove to be the best available, only research can decide the matter. Then the question of wind wheel design, concerned as it is with problems of rainfall, atmosphere, temperature, and relative humidities, is a very extensive one, and much patient research will be required before all the story can be told. The cost of the power produced, the conditions of running, the variations in blade design to meet wind conditions, are more or less new, and it is well to remember that our knowledge of the wind itself has only been acquired recently, and remains very incomplete. Great ingenuity has, however, already been displayed by the makers of the new motors, and some of them are so constructed that an increase in wind pressure brings about a reduc-

tion in the area affected, so that there is no danger of any great gale creating more power than is required. The problem of the moment is cheap storage. So far as one can tell, the wind motor, which of course comes in direct succession to the very similar instrument that pumps the water on the farm, is destined to release the farm worker from many a familiar but unpleasant task, and to add enormously to the amenities of life on the farm and in the village. Already, some few progressive men who combine farming and engineering are using electricity for their plough power.

The fact that the work of investigating the claims of every kind of agricultural machine has been taken up by the Agricultural Institute at Oxford is of the very highest importance, because the farmer has always been at the mercy of the salesman hitherto, and the best salesman is not always employed in the service of the finest article. The work of the Institute at Oxford is to prove the new inventions that are submitted to the agriculturists, and every farmer who contemplates a purchase can apply to the Institute and learn what is known to the advantage of the one he proposes to buy. The Institute having no commercial interests to protect and no other purpose than the benefit of the agricultural community to serve, there could be no better test for the farmer than a report issued by the inspector in the Institute's service. The machine that is not offered for examination will have no semi-official credentials to offer.

Another question of which the wise solution may mean great advantage to the agricultural community relates to subsoiling, that is, the breaking up of the stratum below the plough-sole, without bringing the subsoil to the surface, a delicate operation enough, though seemingly a matter of brute force. It has long been known that subsoiling if properly carried out has an immensely advantageous effect upon production, whereas if it is done badly, and brings the subsoil to the surface, the position is reversed. Subsoiling is not practised at present so often as it should be, and the steam cables which are generally used are expensive in their application, and in some cases very difficult to adjust. On the other hand, the strain upon the plough team is exceedingly heavy, and down to a little while

ago there was no choice between the horse and the steam cable, so that the work tended to be neglected. To-day, thanks to the motor tractor, it is possible to carry out subsoiling at moderate expense and with little difficulty. But here, as in every other agricultural operation, there are very many questions that must be settled before the method can be deemed effective, and the Institute of Agricultural Engineering has been engaged for more than two years past in carrying out a series of experiments on every class of soil. These have been conclusive up to a point. It is shown that increased yields, amounting to 25 per cent. on a conservative basis, are possible, and that every manner of land, from the heavy London clay to the gravel and sand, has some beneficial result to yield from subsoiling. At present the inquiry is directed to finding the maximum depth to which it is desirable to pierce; the relation of expense to effect; the ratio of increase; the most desirable conditions; the best crops to take advantage of subsoiling; the degree of pulverisation to be aimed at; and all questions relating to aëration, chemical changes, mixture content, temperature, germination, effect of manuring, and the rest, which must be understood before the farmer can expect to know precisely where he stands or the benefit he may hope to gain from a given expenditure. The question of the most suitable time for subsoiling is also under consideration, but in a very little while we may hope for some authoritative pronouncement on these points, and when we consider the high productive capacity of some of the more recently bred varieties of corn and the new conditions that the developments outlined above are likely to bring about, it is not unreasonable to say that the evolution of farming practice has reached a point at which the outlook is more promising than it has ever been. The optimist may assert himself in farmland in spite of the problems associated with unrestricted import, labour difficulties, and the merciless manipulation of our markets by those middlemen who are apparently destined to thrive by grace of Government, in spite of the revelations of Lord Linlithgow's committee. A long period of patient research in agriculture is bearing rich fruit, and the one danger before the farmer is that he will not recognise the duty of the

industry regarded as a whole towards preventable loss. For we must remember that the farmer has been appealing to the State ever since the repeal in 1921 of the Corn Production Act of 1920.

Few of those who advocate State help for agriculture in one form or another appear to realise how much could be added to the national income if farmers would realise their responsibility in certain definite directions. It is not too much to say that, merely by following the instructions laid down either by Acts of Parliament or by Orders issued from the Ministry, the farm could well save the equivalent of a subsidy of several pounds per arable acre. What the amount of that subsidy would be it is, of course, impossible to tell; but it is at least safe to suggest that it would amount to more than is demanded by the most tireless advocates of State assistance. Consider the position. Rural England from one end to another is overrun by rats, and rats, apart from the direct destruction they cause, are acknowledged to be the agent of many virulent and costly diseases. They are suspected of acting as carriers to the ultra-microscopic virus of Foot and Mouth Disease; they spread parasitic mange, equine influenza, swine fever, and many another infection from house to house, from farm to farm, from one set of outbuildings to another. Owing to the enormous rate of their increase, they are great migrants. One pair, if their progeny could be preserved, would have over three thousand descendants in the course of fourteen months. This fecundity is associated with overcrowding, though the male rat will devour his own or another's offspring; overcrowding leads to migration, migration to the spread of disease. Only by reason of the strict surveillance at the great ports of call and by the compulsory fumigation of vessels coming into port do we escape the worst of all the evils that the rat carries, the bubonic and pneumonic plague.

Travelling through the countryside, we find very few stacks built upon steadles, and yet these are the only stacks that are safe from attack. Of late years, since the farmer's eyes were opened, he has taken some trouble to net his stackyards when the threshing machines come round, and many men destroy hundreds of rats annually in this fashion; but when a large colony has been living

in a stack through the winter, it is quite obvious that the damage done robs the farmer of a very great part of his due. Nor is the corn-fed rat content to eat the grain as it comes; he prefers to take the germ and leave the rest. Mice, too, frequent the stacks in vast numbers and do untold damage. Round the pig-styes, rats live in large numbers, and even where an open-air feeding is practised, it will be found that many of the food troughs are as accessible to rats as to pigs, while in the granary and the stable, in every outbuilding that is not protected by concrete, rats abound. There are very few, if any, premises in farmland, outside the limited area of model farms, that can claim to be free. Yet there is a Rats and Mice (Destruction) Act, 1921, on the Statute Book, and every tenant is responsible under that Act for the rats on his premises and is bound under penalty to destroy them. Unfortunately, the local authority seldom insists upon the observance of the law, and farmers as a class will not take the trouble to destroy vermin. They prefer to see their profits eaten up and to make an appeal to the country to restore their balances. Before the war, the amount of damage done in the countryside of England alone was estimated at fifteen million pounds a year, and then, it may be remembered, the value of everything consumed was little more than half what it is to-day. In all probability, fifteen millions is a figure that will be found totally inadequate in 1925, and there is every reason to believe that rats are very much on the increase throughout the country. The market gardener suffers as badly as the farmer. A country town is often infested from end to end, because nearly every butcher's shop has its private slaughterhouse, and these places are centres of infection, from them the rats proceed to infest the general store, the bakehouse, and the rest. Few people realise how, while day belongs to man, night belongs to the rat, or how great is the menace to the national health; how widespread the contamination of food; how the gamekeeper, who wages war on owls, hawks, and stoats, reduces the number of the rats' natural enemies. But the farmer is chiefly responsible for this condition of things, because it is from his stackyards and from his hedgerows, his stables and outbuildings, that the great armies of the rat issue.

They winter in his barns and spend the summer in his hedgerows, they are destructive, they breed disease, and in maintaining them, he is disobeying the law and allowing millions of pounds' worth of food to be wasted. He admits the depredations, regrets the loss, but seldom takes action, and it is well to remember that nothing less than concerted action is of any avail. If every county but one throughout England were to take the fullest possible advantage of the National Rat Week, the county that refused to join in would become a sanctuary for all rats living over the border within reasonable distance, and as they multiplied, they would spread again throughout England. The Rats Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture was doing important work when the axe of the Economist fell upon it, without saving anything more than some less effective but better protected offices within Whitehall Place. The factory was in the way of making sufficient profit to finance the whole branch by supplying baits to the Government offices at less than the price charged by manufacturers. Those irresponsible, ill-advised wielders of the axe inflicted upon the country a loss that must run far into seven figures.

When we turn from vermin to noxious weeds, we find another source of serious and avoidable loss to the farming industry. In case the reader should think that there is any tendency to exaggerate, it is well to say that the Ministry's own estimate of the annual loss due to weeds was sixteen million pounds before the war. Owing to the increased cost of labour and the increased price of seed, the Ministry is of opinion that 'the loss must now be much higher,' and declares that it is far greater than it need be, because 'the best methods of prevention and eradication are not practised.' If a Ministry that exists to assist the farmer will go so far as this, it may be suggested that the matter is a very serious one. Why should it so remain? There is an Injurious Weeds Order of 1921, which was part of the Corn Production Acts of 1917 and 1920, and was retained when the final Act was repealed in 1921. Under this Order an occupier of land may receive a notice in writing requiring him to cut down or destroy thistles, docks, and ragwort. The penalty for non-compliance is a fine

that may rise as high as 20*l.*, followed by a penalty ranging up to 1*l.* a day for each day of neglect following conviction. With such an order, it would be reasonable to suppose that docks, thistles, and ragwort would cease to cumber the ground, but the unpleasant fact remains that they are still grossly in evidence, and that the weeds from the land of the careless farmer are carried by the wind on to the land of the neighbour who does his duty. So the loss goes on, and, year after year, countless weeds are cut at hay-time, and find their way to the stack, where the seeding process is completed; and of late, much brushing of ditches has gone by default, because the farmer says labour is too expensive, though, if he did but realise it, weeds are more expensive still. They impoverish the land and reduce the yield of his crops, and the longer they are permitted to thrive, the more expensive eradication becomes.

It may be admitted freely enough that, under certain weather conditions, there must be a plague of weeds; but it is perfectly possible to clear the land if the work be undertaken seriously, and clean land is a prize worth striving for, when we consider what dirt costs. Unfortunately, the Injurious Weeds Order is almost as neglected as the Rats and Mice Destruction Act, and the whole of agriculture suffers because our rulers, having given the necessary instructions, have failed to enforce obedience to them. Another evil that militates against prosperity in farmland is the reluctance of many farmers to take the necessary precautions to reduce the risk of sickness among their live stock, and their still greater reluctance to notify outbreaks of contagious or infectious diseases, as required by law. For years past, farmers have been advised in their own interest to dip for sheep scab, but it has been found necessary to make this dipping compulsory, and even to supervise it. In the same way, the farmer has been warned over and over again that he must not leave his sheep on ill-drained meadows in the autumn and winter, and that, if he does, he is liable to suffer severe loss through the disease caused by the liver fluke. Yet, year after year, it is possible to trace bad outbreaks and disastrous losses to flooded or partly flooded pastures on which no sheep should graze. Even in the case of Foot and Mouth Disease—the

deadliest epidemic known in farmland, and one that has cost the country in compensation upwards of four million pounds in the last two or three years—outbreaks are alleged to have been traced to concealment. There is a well-marked and most unfortunate tendency not to notify dangerous outbreaks. It has been common knowledge that among low-class farmers and dealers a constant traffic in diseased animals persists, and the passing profit of a few individualists may be, and often is, associated with a grave loss to the community at large. The inner history of certain outbreaks of disease in the past few years is very disquieting.

It may be thought that whatever the failings among agriculturists, they are of a local significance and do not call for serious emphasis, but this is a mistaken view. The industry in times of crisis goes hat in hand to an urban population which is disposed to do it less than justice. So long as the town can buy cheap food the farmer's plight does not concern it. The town dweller does not trouble about the problems that a system of free imports brings in its train. He understands that no effort on the farmer's part will enable him on the available British acreage to feed the population of these islands, and that imports must continue until the growing population of exporting countries and an increasing degree of prosperity among their nationals leads to the complete home consumption of their supplies. There is a distinct tendency in this direction, but years must pass before the city man will realise that the farmer is invaluable. In the mean time, the farmer remains in the position of petitioner, and, owing to economic conditions, he is seeking for assistance that is not readily available. In these circumstances it is essential that the outstretched hands should be clean; in other words, that the farmer should be able to show that he is doing his best, not only individually, but collectively, to meet all the reasonable requirements of the community. If it can be proved that the farmer is losing by reason of his own carelessness or indifference a sum of money larger than that which he seeks by way of subsidy, there can only be one answer to his request, nor will his troubles avail to alter it. If he is not making a direct appeal and is merely pleading hard times in support of rate reduction and kindred charges, his plea cannot carry conviction so long

as he may be found guilty of wasting his substance, or of increasing the national expenditure for purely selfish ends, or of allowing sickness to spread in order that he may avoid inconvenience.

The concealment of disease among farm stock is far more serious than it was years ago when transport facilities were few and trouble could be localised. To-day, when motor vans and lorries have supplemented the normal traffic of rail and road, it is possible to pass animals from place to place with great rapidity and to dispose of the sick or ailing without regard to regulations and without much risk of inquiry. Honest farmers, and they are in the great majority, refrain from doing these things; but, on the other hand, few of them are sufficiently public-spirited to denounce offenders living in the same district, and if you ask them why, they will tell you that the other man's business is not theirs, they don't interfere with him, and would themselves resent interference. This is the spirit that accounts so largely for the failure of co-operation, and for a certain lack of response to efforts made to help the industry as a whole.

It is, in truth, no far cry from modern mechanical developments to the maintenance of clean land and the strict observance of regulations framed in the public interest. We may well be on the eve of an agricultural Renaissance, all the signs favour one. The hard work of the farm is being entrusted in ever-increasing measure to paraffin and petrol. The risks that dog the steps of the farmer are being removed one by one. He stands equipped not only with effective machinery but with new breeds of corn, while in the matter of animal nutrition, our knowledge is greater to-day than it has ever been. But how can the industry do justice to its opportunities if the farmer will not clear his stacks and buildings from vermin and his fields from weeds, if he will not notify contagious or infectious diseases on the stroke of their occurrence, and see that his land is in proper state to receive his live stock? The farmer needs all the help that science and the engineer can bring to him, but if his industry, which is still the first in the kingdom, is to enjoy a measure of prosperity that will reach to the rank and file, he must put his own house in order. Nobody can do that for him.

S. L. BENSUSAN.

Art. 3.—THE PLEASANTNESS OF EUROPEAN LIFE.

READERS of Bryce's 'American Commonwealth' will remember chapter cxi, entitled 'The Pleasantness of American Life.' Throughout the chapter a sharp contrast is drawn between social and economic conditions in the United States on the one hand, and in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe on the other. One phrase in particular arrests the reader's attention: 'The wretchedness of Europe is left behind.'

When this extreme statement is made by a man who was not an American, and who was a scholar, an incessant and observant traveller and man of affairs, it is not surprising that Americans themselves easily adopt the same point of view. George Washington advised his fellow-countrymen to keep clear of the entanglements of Europe, presumably because he thought that there were many evil things in Europe. Ever since then, the citizens of the United States have tended to follow his advice without question, and to assume that Europe was a poor sort of place, worth visiting only because of its heritage from the past, its Old Masters, its mediæval churches, its romantic, ruined castles. To the ordinary inhabitant of Europe, life is supposed to be a burden. 'The Letters of Walter Hines Page,' even the letters written before the Great War, express the same kind sympathy: he speaks of the sorrows of Europe, melancholy, army-ridden, over-taxed.

The whole thing is a myth due partly to the self-satisfied feeling, the sense of superiority, which seems to grow naturally in all new countries; it is also due, probably, to the sight of miserable immigrants from Eastern Europe huddling into the ports of New England, as if Europe were a plague which they were leaving behind them. In South Eastern Europe there was during the 19th century a good deal of misery, due to the effects of Turkish mal-administration. In Russia the conditions of life were badly spoken of, and the fault was imputed to the Tsarist régime. It is recognised now that the real misery of Russia has come about since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. But putting aside the consideration of Russia and South Eastern Europe, let us concentrate

on Western Europe. That life is pleasant there is proved by this: practically every inhabitant of Western Europe is proud of his particular country and likes his life there. From the new countries of the world there is a continuous back flow to Western Europe of people looking for cultured enjoyment; and most of the things which give grace and beauty to life in the New World are still drawn from the Old.

Bryce's chapter on the 'Pleasantness of American Life' is immediately followed by another on the 'Uniformity of American Life.' Thus, without consciously felt connexion in the author's mind, are the light and shade described. Life as described in chapter cxi is pleasant in America, because everybody has enough to eat and drink, and feels free and equal with his neighbours; but in chapter cxii life is apt to be dull, because town-planning and modern machinery and newness make everything look a little like everything else. Now, in Western Europe, no two things are the same. Nature, as in America, is infinitely diverse; but more than that, the civilisation of Western Europe, because it has grown throughout the ages and has not been made, is infinitely various. There is a variety of beautiful things everywhere in Western Europe.

Perhaps the first thing that an observer would notice is the pleasant aspect that Europe presents. It is a neat, well-arranged place, and highly picturesque. The scenes of pasture and stream, with a spire on the skyline, and cattle with a homestead in the middle distance, such as Hobbema or Ruysdael painted, or the woodland and hills with an ancient ruin, of the pictures of Claude, or the sunny meadows and cultivated fields of Corot, or the combination of mountains, lake, and mediæval walled town which appear in the backgrounds of Raphael's or Titian's paintings, are not highly idealised or specially selected landscapes: they can be seen almost anywhere either in Holland, or France, or Italy, with the same skies and the same sunsets, the same brilliant colours, the same faces of men and things as when the Masters painted them. Western Europe is a garden: the town has never managed to absorb all the life of the countryside. As the population has grown, the land has come to be possessed by more and more individuals. The

ground has become too valuable to be wasted by walls and ditches. Therefore, the passer-by has the delicious spectacle of miles of open fields. Large spaces possessed by a numerous population in severalty, varied in colour by the different crops which each peasant or farmer grows upon his patches of ground, are studded with the trim homesteads of the cultivators. The ideal scene of human occupation, to which, however, the larger States approximate, is a Swiss valley—not a sign of wall or fence, hedge or ditch, but a pleasant intermingling of vividly green grass land, blue flowering lucerne, yellowing corn, rows of potatoes and green food, with the neat farmhouses, the stacks of cut wood and faggots: from the uplands comes the tinkling of cowbells. In countries where there are no high pastures, no 'alps,' the cattle are tethered and daily take their ration, eating a large circular slice of clover or grass. Beauties of nature are found in every part of the world. In Western Europe there is the additional beauty which man has made and maintains, the result of two thousand years of adaptive cultivation.

Like the countryside, the towns of Europe have a pleasant, varied aspect. Most of them date from an age when architecture and craftsmanship flourished, when time and labour needed not to be spared in the beautifying of a building. Age alone does not necessarily make a thing beautiful, but it does, at least, usually gather romantic associations about a place. Besides, all men prefer beautiful things to ugly, so that in the passage of time the ugly buildings tend to be destroyed and the beautiful to survive. Thus it may be said of the hundreds of famous spots in European cities, the Grand' Place, for instance, of Brussels, or the Forum of Rome, that they have survived because of their intrinsic beauty, as well as for the romantic and historical associations which adhere to them.

It is, however, not merely the rich inheritance from the past that makes the towns of Europe lovely. It is also the unbroken tradition of art from this past. Taste and style have never been lost. The new buildings of Paris or of Barcelona or Berne, original and characteristic of their builders though they are, and the new gardens which every city has created, have a grace and harmony

which is due to the unbroken tradition of the Renaissance. If a visitor stands in the gardens of the Tuileries, with his back to the Louvre, and looks across the Place de la Concorde up the long avenue of the Champs Elysées to the Arc de Triomphe, he does not feel that he is in new surroundings, although many old things were destroyed in the last hundred years to make what he sees.

The essential virtue of almost every town or city of Western Europe is that it has a personality; it began as the work of some man or some few men, it is associated with their name and character, and it has grown outward from this kernel. Thus every city has a natural centre—a cathedral or a palace, or a market-place; and it has a hero or a heroine, priest, nobleman, merchant (or merchant-gild) who has set a mark upon it. Berlin is reminiscent of Frederick II, the Hague of William of Orange, Vienna of Maria Theresa, Old Paris of St Louis, New Paris of Napoleon III; the smaller cities have often more romantic heroes; Rome is the epitome of the political and spiritual influences of the West.

Western Europe is not rich; it is necessarily a place of hard work and frugality and moderate pleasures. Probably it is the bourgeois who gets most out of this kind of life; the educated professional man and his family dictate the normal standards in politics and society; the virtues of Europe are the prudent, kindly virtues of the bourgeois; and to his point of view the aristocracies on the one hand, and the labouring classes on the other, tend to approximate. The system of education is bourgeois; it is severe, it is literary, it is economical, and it requires considerable sacrifice. The higher education not merely costs money to the student, but it can only be pursued successfully by intense mental application and long hours of study. The standard is high, because it is the standard of a laborious and self-respecting professional class in old countries with long traditions of scholarship and where the prizes of professional life are few in comparison with the many educated people striving for them.

As mind on the whole rules matter, and as the mind of Europe is most highly developed in the bourgeois, it is he who makes political and social life what they are.

Europe is the place of moderate democracy and the frock-coat. The doctor, the lawyer, the civil engineer, the professor, and the journalist—the highest vocations of the normal bourgeois—are the basis of legislatures and cabinets; the prefectures and bureaux are recruited from his sons. The universal means of relaxation, the commonest places of pleasure, are the public gardens, the museums, and the theatres, where wholesome intellectual amusement can be had, for nothing in the gardens or museums, for a moderate price in the theatres of classical drama or opera. When the bourgeois dies his sons go on as he began, with a similar small capital to help them along a similar laborious avenue of professional work; the daughters, too, have their modest pecuniary endowment which will help their bourgeois husbands to maintain the refined home of their class.

As a governing class the aristocracy in Europe may be said practically to have disappeared. Only in Germany and the Austrian Empire had they conserved some important privileges throughout the 19th century, and practically controlled all the patronage of the army and bureaucracy. But even in Central Europe the last vestiges of feudalism disappeared at the end of the Great War. The European aristocracies are now little more than picturesque survivals. This picturesqueness, the result of historic tradition and caste-consciousness, is found at its highest in certain of the dispossessed dynasties. These once sovereign houses, having been forced to leave not only their throne, but, as a rule, their country too, can still command sufficient of the ancient loyalties to surround themselves with a little court, and to maintain, without the support which public opinion has hitherto given it, the feeling and expression of royalty. Such 'unrecognised royalty,' as it might be called, still lives intact in the many branches of the House of Bourbon, in the Habsburgs, the Wettins, the Wittelsbachs, and in the more modern Bonapartes. The catastrophe of the war, the destruction of capital, the annihilation of the mark and the kroner, has made the maintenance of royal state almost impossible for the once sovereign families; the little courts which flourished in their own way at the home of the Miguelite Braganzas at Bronnbach, of the Bourbon-Parmas at Schwarza, of the Habsburgs on

the lake of Geneva, are now romantic memories. Such of the dispossessed dynasties as still retain some of the outward grandeur and exclusiveness of royalty, depending no longer on taxes, are supported only by inherited fortunes which even the most prudent notaries can scarcely in these days preserve from a rapid depreciation. The rest of the aristocracies, the former feudal supporters of the royal houses, are in a better case; they more easily throw off their caste-consciousness, assimilate themselves to the well-to-do middle class, enter business houses or the professions, and make a substantial living by their industry. No longer claiming any posts as their right and privilege, they are, as a matter of fact, given a preference in the sphere for which their traditions and environment best suit them; in France, for instance, and even in democratic Switzerland, the former aristocratic families still form the background of the diplomatic profession.

Although as a governing class the day of the nobility is over, few people really bear them any grudge. Consider the perpetual extreme difficulty of the task of governing masses of people and of adjusting their relations; reflect on the mistakes which the most scientific democratic governments even now make; and then one may feel bound to admit that those princes and counts of the 19th century, the men of the knee-breeches, silk stockings, silver buckles, orders, and decorations, who look so blandly out of the portraits in the Continental Galleries, did not do so badly after all in their management of affairs.

The Peasantry of Western Europe were becoming more and more a peasant proprietary in the 18th and 19th centuries. In France the progress was almost complete by 1850; in Spain and Italy the same thing occurred, although not quite to the same extent. In Prussia the Junkers or Squires to the east of the Elbe maintained the system of large-scale farming throughout the 19th century; while in certain of the Habsburg dominions, for instance, Hungary and Galicia, the nobles held huge estates which were cultivated through bailiffs and hired labourers. In the unsettled period after the collapse of the Central Powers in 1918, the peasants acquired a good deal of land, so much so that the changes

in Hungary and elsewhere have been called the *Green Revolution*. Land is at the present day far more divided among the common people than it has ever been before. At the same time the peasantry are probably more prosperous than at any previous period. The depreciation of currency has only made their produce more valuable—corn and olives and other raw food-stuffs, the food of man, have come back into their old positions of measures of value. The soil nearly everywhere produces far more than is required for the maintenance of the labour which is expended upon it. Consequently the peasant owning his land has a surplus, an economic rent, which if not high is sufficient to make him a man of some substance. The painter of the modern peasantry has not yet arisen; but there is no reason to suppose that when he does come, his pictures of peasant life will be less cheerful than are those of Teniers or Wilkie. The development of the peasant now approximates him to the small bourgeoisie. He is educated; he saves money; his sons, who cannot all go on the land, have careers opened through the national army or the Church (which draws its priesthood largely from the peasant-class), or even in some of the liberal professions, particularly that of teaching. There still, however, remains the difficulty of finding a 'vent' for those young peasants for whom there is not sufficient land at home. The ancient outlet of emigration is not so big as formerly.

The workmen of Europe are the class whose economic position is least stable. The old domestic industries which produced for local and well-known markets have nearly disappeared. In their place has gradually come the large-scale industry. Improvements of mechanism and organisation have given a constantly increasing output, with a consequent necessity for new or wider markets to be found. Tremors in these markets, the slightest contraction, a bankruptcy, react upon the producers however far away these are. Consequently, industrial life is subject to vicissitudes, to bad times and good times, owing to causes often quite outside the producers' control, or even outside their knowledge altogether.

This uncertainty, this liability to outward contingencies, is a feature of all industrial life, in whatever part

of the world. In Western Europe, indeed everywhere west of the Vistula, except the Rhineland, it is probably less prominent than in Great Britain or the United States. In France, Spain, Italy, and Austria, the small workshop has never been wholly displaced by the factory; and the factory itself has rarely attained the large-scale of English or American grand industry. The markets are comparatively limited; production is primarily for domestic consumption rather than for export; consequently employment is not so sensitive to reactions from all over the world. The French and German workman, moreover, has not learned to believe that it is right not to work hard. He is an arduous worker, as any one may observe who stands, for instance, on a quay of the Seine and watches gravel being shovelled. Hard work keeps down cost of production; and low cost of production keeps prices stable, and so tends to keep employment stable. The relatively small or moderate scale of many Continental industries has enabled the relations of master and men to be maintained more closely than in the great English and American industries. The families which owned the Mulhouse cotton-mills retained an active interest in the work throughout the 19th century. Few enormous fortunes were made, so that the tendency for families to retire from business and to become a moneyed aristocracy never became very prominent. The workpeople, although by no means insensible to the 'labour' or 'proletarian' movement, have never become wholly estranged from the owners.

The pleasantness of European life might be indicated by half a dozen or rather more definite points. There is, firstly, the low cost of living. *La vie coûte chère* is a common complaint in French newspapers. In other European countries the same grievance is felt. Nevertheless, judged by the standards of the New World, the cost of living in Europe is low. The rewards of labour and enterprise are also, it is true, lower in Europe than in the New World, but they are better distributed. There are few great fortunes; in the economy of peoples, the last hundred years have produced a levelling up. The motor-car is not a common thing in Western Europe, but nearly everybody has a bicycle.

Along with a low cost of living, Western Europe

enjoys a temperate climate; indeed, this partly contributes to the low cost; for people have not to employ a large proportion of their labour and resources in keeping themselves warm; nor, on the other hand, is their energy relaxed by enervating climatic conditions. The temperate weather of Western Europe makes possible that delightful open-air existence in which all classes indulge. The Europeans are lovers of parks and gardens. The Bois de Boulogne, with its riding tracks, its footpaths, its lake, has its counterpart in nearly every large town; the bourgeois and workman alike each takes his family there on free afternoons. A German workman may be seen on a holiday sitting in a park in the sunlight looking placidly at a lake or grove by the hour. The normal way in which young men spend their holidays is to take a knapsack and a stout stick and go tramping through the country. The walk which the student takes down the Rhine in Longfellow's novel 'Hyperion,' is a regular feature of any summer. The universality and the cheapness of the inn, the mild yet bracing qualities of the air, make this tramping wholesome and easy.

The pleasantness of European life comes most essentially from its culture, its ancient and daily increasing inheritance of intellectual and artistic resources. It is in Western Europe that everybody can most bountifully enjoy what Sainte Beuve calls 'the sincere love of letters and the innocent charm of the Muses.' Consider three things without which it is difficult to believe that life can be either noble or enjoyable: these are literature, painting, music. Except in the great centres of populations, there is an almost complete famine of these things outside Europe. The difficulties under which students and scholars, not to mention the average intelligent and educated man, labour in new countries are almost inconceivable. In Western Europe, on the other hand, every town has not merely a library of old works, but bookshops in which the recent works of good literature are stocked as a matter of course, and offered for sale. Only in one department of literature has the New World approached in achievement to the Old: this is in newspapers and journalism. Yet even here the literary tradition of the Old World provides a higher medium: the standard of Western European journalism is

extremely high, sensationalism has never established itself in the press columns; and great dailies are produced in local centres, each of which has a character of its own. The newspapers of Paris are different from but not superior to, say, the 'Zeitung' of Frankfort, the 'Vossische' of Berlin, the 'Zeitung' of Cologne. The journals of Vienna, 'Neue Freie Presse' and 'Neues Wiener Journal,' are famous. The 'Corriere della Sera' of Milan has a European circulation. These and all the rest which enjoy an international reputation can be bought for a few cents at almost any kiosk in any city of Central or Western Europe. It is not the Great States only which have journals of reputation and literary quality. The 'Independance Belge' was one of the leading organs of continental liberalism in the 19th century. Swiss newspapers never achieved such a reputation outside their national frontier; but any one who takes up the 'Journal de Genève' or the 'Züricher Zeitung' will be impressed with the wide range of interest, the literary expression, and the quiet, restrained outlook of these papers.

While every Western European city has a journal worth reading, it has also a theatre and an opera. The educative influence of music and the drama, as well as their capacity for affording wholesome enjoyment depend upon several factors: the sanity of the tradition, the quality of the performers, the accessibility of the theatres. In Western Europe these three factors have been steadily nourished. The tradition of the classical drama, set by the great writers of the Age of Louis XIV, has been continuously developed. The profession of acting has been sedulously cultivated in the permanent companies, like the Théâtre Français at Paris, or any of the State theatres which have never been seriously interrupted since the enlightened autocrats of the 18th century established them. Accessibility is a feature of the European theatre, for, owing to the intensity of local life, whether in the provinces of the great States or in the capitals of the little States, grand opera and the classical drama are regular features of existence, whether it be in the famous centres of Paris, Munich, Vienna, or Milan, or in the smaller places, say Weimar or Brussels, where operas are presented with the same taste, if with less imposing grandeur. The once independent City-

States preserve their tradition of independent artistic and literary life as carefully as do the great capitals. The picture gallery of Bâle and the opera house at Frankfort are not imitations of the better-known galleries or theatres of Europe: they make their own unique contribution to the common culture of the West.

The German historian, Treitschke, wrote that Europe would always remain the centre of the world because it had its roots so deeply in the past. There have been many catastrophes and cataclysms in European history; and at one period, after the fall of the Roman Empire, there was a danger of Western civilisation disappearing under the tide of barbarian invasions. But although in everything except religion the Middle Ages were a great decline from the ancient civilisation, the heritage of Greece and Rome was never wholly lost; and after the Renaissance it was recovered, amplified, and in many respects improved. This is why Western Europe offers the spectacle of a balanced civilisation: religion, art, trade, and commerce have each an obvious and allotted space in the outward scheme of things. The great fabric of the mediæval church overlooks the market-place. Saint Eustache casts a shadow across the Paris *halles*.

The last achievement of Western Europe should be the peace of the world. If history, since the fall of the Roman Empire, has been largely a record of wars, it has also been the story of an effort, steadily pursued by the best minds, to get back to the Roman ideal of a common law of equality for the whole world. Western Europe is the home of international law. On the shore of its lovely and famous lake of Geneva is the seat of the League of Nations. It has worked out to a logical conclusion the system of nationality. It now remains to reconcile nationalism, without sacrificing its virtues, with the wider scheme of internationalism.

The charm of life in Europe is due largely to its long-established civilisation, to its inheritance not merely of beautiful things, but of social habit and manner which conduce to sweetness of living. The history of the relations of Europe and America are full of witness to this charm. Observant Americans, intelligent, critical, occasionally even unfriendly, cross the Atlantic, and sooner or later are conquered by the spell. Richard

Rush, Edward Everett, John Lothrop Motley, John Hay, Walter Hines Page, all formed friendships in England or on the Continent and felt the attractiveness of European life. Most striking is the way in which Page was gradually drawn into the solidarity of society on this side of the Atlantic. He came almost with a contempt for old Europe, its aristocracies, its armies, its artificial conventions. Then the spell began to work: intellectual poise, ease of manner, the sense of justice, breadth of outlook were still found among the old nations, who were not yet worn out: of the British aristocracy, he wrote, 'They have the high art of living.' The same idea is expressed in many of Henry James's novels, perhaps nowhere more potently than in 'The Portrait of a Lady' with its haunting pervasiveness of European atmosphere.

Balzac has some interesting remarks in the opening paragraph of 'Honorine' on the pleasantness which he claims to be the especial characteristic of French life.

'It is excessively difficult,' he writes, 'to find again far from France, the charms of France. Other countries offer admirable landscapes; they often present a comfort superior to that of France, they sometimes display an astounding magnificence, grandeur, luxury; they are not wanting in grace and noble fashions'—

but what they do want, he adds, is 'intellectual life, activity of ideas, *atticism*.' Balzac goes too far in his panegyric, whether it be taken as referring to France or to all Western Europe. Intellectual life exists in a high degree outside Europe. But he is correct in saying that Europe excels by its *atticism*, its continuously cherished classical tradition. 'There is a European atmosphere,' wrote Sorel, in 'L'Europe et la Révolution française.' He hastens to add that the atmosphere is French. Actually, it is classical, it comes from the ancient civilisation of Greece and Rome. Under Imperial Rome Western Europe was a unity, with a common law, language, and economic system, as well as a common religion. The Middle Ages never completely lost this tradition of unity; the Reformation destroyed the religious unity, but in other respects the cultural affinities of the peoples remain, and will doubtless, at some future time, produce a United States of Europe.

R. B. MOWAT.

Art. 4.—MUSARUM NUGÆ.

1. *Primitiæ et Reliquiæ* (a collection of the verse of the Marquess Wellesley). London, 1841.
 2. *Leviora*. By Henry Broadbent. Spottiswoode; Eton, 1924.
 3. *Ros Rosarum*. By A. B. Ramsay. Cambridge, 1925.
- And other collections of verse.

THE habit of trifling with the Classical Muse is an ancient one; and although to her immature worshipper in the Fourth Form, as he stumbles laboriously and sometimes painfully up the first steps to Parnassus, she appears as an austere and unapproachable divinity, she will sometimes, later on, if he perseveres in a spirit of due humility, reward him not only with her smile but with something remarkably like a wink. In the end the scholar, so long as he does not make the mistake of fancying that he is one of the great poets and men of genius for whom the peaks of the Muse's mountain are reserved, may find himself very much at ease on the middle slopes. He will have discovered that his goddess is a lady of such wide sympathies that there is little if anything in his daily life that cannot be expressed in language which he may flatter himself will be acceptable to her, and that she is indulgent enough not to resent a good deal of impertinence from her admirers.

The matter may be illustrated by the old story of Kennedy who, having boasted that there was nothing in English which could not be rendered into Latin elegiacs, and being confronted with a printed circular summoning a meeting of the bridges committee of a Local Authority, reeled off the well-known verses beginning:

‘Concilio pontis cui tradita cura tuendi’;

or by the similar story of Shillito, who had made the same claim for Greek iambics. He was asked how he would deal with the enquiry,

‘Well, old Stick-in-the-mud, how’s your chump?’

and riposted unhesitatingly with

ἐν βορβόρῳ σπηρικτέ, πῶς ἔχεις κάρα;

Kennedy and Shillito were great scholars of a former age. The mention of their names might lead our minds

back to a still earlier day when a familiarity with Latin authors, or at least with Virgil and Horace, was an accomplishment to be confessed rather than concealed among the busiest men of affairs, and such distinguished persons as Prime Ministers quoted these poets in the House of Commons as a matter of course.

Those were the days of the Marquess Wellesley, whose collected verse is still extant in a rare and precious little book, printed in 1841 under the title '*Primitiæ et Reliquiæ*,' from which a single quotation must suffice. This is an epigram composed by Wellesley when a Sixth Form boy at Eton, in 1778, upon '*The Deluge, Servatus Noah*.'

'Optima Aqua est; probet hoc tibi Pindarus; at male scribit
(Si qua Cratine * fides sit tibi) Potor aquæ;

Litem igitur solvit, placiturus utrique, Poetâ

Qui describit aquam carmine, vina bibit.'

Wellesley has here anticipated by well-nigh a century and a half a modern poet's † praise of the patriarch who planted the vine:

'The cataract of the cliff of Heaven fell blinding off the brink,
As if it would wash the stars away, as suds go down a sink,
The seven heavens came roaring down for the throats of hell
to drink,

And Noah he cocked his eye and said, "It looks like rain, I
think;

The water has drowned the Matterhorn as deep as a Mendip
mine,

But I don't care where the water goes if it doesn't get into
the wine."

'*Primitiæ et Reliquiæ*' has had countless worthy successors from '*Sabrinæ Corolla*,' '*The Hawarden Horace*,' '*Arundines Cami*,' and a host of others down to '*The Odes of Horace, Book V*' (which was hailed by at least one journal of the highest standing as a genuine classic), '*Leviora*,' by Mr H. Broadbent, '*Inter Lilia*' and '*Ros Rosarum*,' by Mr A. B. Ramsay, both of Eton College; and Wellesley has been followed by a multitude which no man may number of those who have sported with

* '*Prisco si credas Mæcenas docte Cratino,
Nulla manere diu neque vivere carmina possunt
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus.*'—HORACE.

† Mr G. K. Chesterton—'*Wine, Water and Song*.'

the Muse. Space will allow of but the briefest mention of a very few out of that multitude; of Calverley, for example, whose sly parodies of Virgil hinted at undergraduate frailties:

'Ponuntur virides sed non a gramine mensæ';

or

'O fumose puer, nimium ne crede Baconi,*

Manilas vocat: hoc prætexit nomine caules,'

of A. D. Godley—multis ille bonis flebilis occidit—who, on an occasion when a grave matter was about to be submitted to the Convocation of Oxford University, addressed such members of that body as might be suffering from unsettled convictions in an ode of which the first stanza ran:

'Audi magister quilibet artium,

Quicunque sæpi scilicet insides

Suspensus æluri futurum

Quo melius speculere saltum';

or of the great Headmaster of Eton, Edmond Warre, whose epigram upon a pre-war speech of Mr Lloyd George at Newcastle, abusing landlords generally,

ἐν ταῖς Ἀχάρναις δημαγώγικον τέρας
τοὺς γῆν ἔχοντας λοιδορεῖ γεῶργος ὢν,

is preserved in Mr C. R. L. Fletcher's admirable memoir of him. But I cannot refrain from quoting in full what has always seemed to me to be about the best thing, in its kind, ever done, and to illustrate afresh the all-embracing humanity of the world's greatest poet, Samuel Butler's Homeric version of Mrs Gamp's immortal speech:

"Mrs 'Arris," I says to 'er, "don't name the charge, for if I could afford to lay out all my fellow-creeturs for nothink, I would gladly do it: sich is the love I bear 'em. But what I always says to them as has the management of matters, Mrs 'Arris"—here she kept her eye on Mr Pecksniff—"be they gents or be they ladies, is, don't ask me whether I won't take none or whether I will—but leave the bottle on the chimley piece, and let me put my lips to it when I am so disposed "' :

* Mr Bacon was an eminent tobacconist of Cambridge.

ὥς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μιν ἀμειβομένην προσεεῖπον·
 δαιμονίη, Ἀρρυσιάδεω ἄλοχ' ἀντιθεοῖο,
 μή θην δὴ περὶ μίσθον ἀνείρεο μήδ' ὀνόμαζε.
 τοίη γάρ τοι ἐγὼν ἀγανὴ καὶ ἥπιη εἰμί
 ὥς κεν λάον ἅπαντ' εἰ μοι δυνάμεις γε παρείη,
 σίτου ἐπηετανοῦ βιοτοῦ θ' ἄλις ἔνδον ἔουτος,
 ἀσπασίως καὶ ἄμισθος ἐοῦσα περισταί' λαιμι
 [ἐν λέκτρῳ λέξασα τανηλέγεος θανάτοιο
 αὐτὴ δς κε θανῇσι βροτῶν καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπρ.]
 ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἔρεώ, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν—
 ὅσσε δὲ οἱ Πεξενεῖφον ἐσέδρακεν ἄσκελες αἰε—
 κείνοισιν γὰρ πᾶσι πιφασσκομένη ἀγορεύω
 εἴτ' ἀνδρ' εἴτε γυναῖχ' ὅτέω τάδε ἐργὰ μέμηλεν,
 μὴ μ' εἶρ' ἢ ἐθέλω πίνειν μέθυ ἥε καὶ οὔχι,
 ἀλλὰ κάτ' ἐσχάροφιν καταθῆς δέπας ἡδεος οἴνου
 ὀφρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἑλῶ πίνουσά τε τερπομένη τε
 χεῖλέα τε προσθείς' ὅποταν φίλον ἦτορ' ἀνώγρ.

And perhaps I may also transcribe Thorold Rogers' lines on 'Proclus, or the Lawyer and his Fee,' written in the House of Commons on hearing the story of the solicitor who inadvertently swallowed a sovereign and, feeling indisposed, 'returned' 13s. 4d. :

Χθῆς νομικὸς δεκ' ἀποκρίψων κατεβρόχθισε δραχμάς,
 καὶ βυσθεὶς θάνατον Πρόκλος ἔδεισε μόρον.
 Νῦν δὲ μόγις τέχνη Παρακέλσον δῆθεν ἱατροῦ
 ἠττηθεὶς ὀβολοὺς εἴκοσιν ἐξέμεσεν.
 Τῶν δὲ τριῶν μερίδων γλισχροῦς ἀπενόσφισε διπλὴν
 ἀνθρώπου γαστήρ, τὴν δε κάτεσχ' ἰδίαν.

Let me add, too, the brilliant version of Lewis Carroll's 'Jabberwock,' by A. A. Vansittart, Senior Classic at Cambridge in 1847. It has been published in the Press, but is far too little known. The word-coinage is as wonderful in the Latin as is the original's in the English :

'MORS IABROCHII.

· 'Cesper erat; tunc lubriciles ultravia circum
 Urgebant gyros gimbiculosque topi;
 Mæstenui visæ borogovides ire meatu,
 Et profugi gemitus exgrabuere rathæ.
 "O fuge Iabrochium, sanguis meus! ille recurvis
 Unguibus, estque avidis dentibus ille minax.

Ububæ fuge cautus avis vim gnate! neque unquam
 Fædarpax contra te frumiosus eat!"
 Vorpali gladio iuvenis succingitur: hostis
 Manxumus ad medium quæritur usque diem:
 Iamque via fesso, sed plurima mente prementi,
 Tumtumiæ frondis suaserat umbra moram.
 Consilia interdum stetit egnia mente revolvens:
 At gravis in densa fronde susuffrus erat,
 Spiculaque ex oculis iacientis flammea tulscam
 Per silvam venit burbur Iabrochii!
 Vorpali semel atque iterum collectus in ictum
 Persnucit gladio persnacuitque puer;
 Deinde galumphatus, spernens informe cadaver,
 Horrendum monstri rettulit ipse caput.
 "Victor Iabrochii, spoliis insignis opimis,
 Rursus in amplexus, O radiose, meos!
 O frabiose dies! CALLO clamateque CALLA!"
 Vix potuit lætus chorticulari pater.
 Cesper erat; tunc lubriciles ultravia circum
 Urgebant gyros gimbiculosque tophi;
 Mæstenui visæ borogovides ire meatu,
 Et profugi gemitus exgrabuere rathæ.

From Mr Broadbent's ingenious versions of Advertisements in 'Leviora' I glean the following:

'Parrot wanted; excellent talker, healthy, tame; no swearing.'

'Psittacus huc veniat; sanum mitemque requiro;
 Garrulitas nequeat verba nefanda loqui.'

And from Mr Ramsay's 'Ros Rosarum' I take his rendering of Mr A. E. Housman's noble lines to a Mercenary Army:

'Tempore quo mundi iam mœnia magna ruebant
 Fixaque iam tellus se dabat ipsa fugæ,
 Tum quoque militiam pacta mercede sequentes
 Hi meruere viri, cum pretioque iacent.
 Stantibus his vastæ stabant fundamina terræ;
 Ingentes umeros supposuere polo.
 Di rem prodiderant; homines fecere salutem
 Omne quod est emptâ restituente manu.'

My purpose, however, is not primarily to display over again the gems fashioned by the famous craftsmen past and present, which are to be found in their books. Such

a process would be superfluous for those who care for these things, and tedious for those who do not.

I would rather turn to a few carmina non prius audita—or at least parum audita—of recent date and unpublished, so far as I know. Thus the hope may be encouraged that even in our own day, when the democratic progress of University Reform (at which it would, of course, be impious to cavil) is rapidly making us a Greekless and will soon, no doubt, make us an entirely non-classical people, the art, as indeed Mr Broadbent and Mr Ramsay have shown, is not wholly dead.

In this sphere the name of A. D. Godley inevitably comes up again. Here is a fragment of a Latin hymn, composed by him, it is true, a good many years ago, on an occasion when a near relative of the Founder of a certain distinguished but modern Oxford College was alleged in a moment of youthful exuberance to have done some damage to the College property ;

‘Nemo sapit omnibus, sicut scimus, horis.
Sed fenestras frangere non est boni moris.
Clamant omnes socii, experrecti toris,
Salva nos a filio pii Fundatoris.’

And Mr J. V. Powell, of St John’s College, Oxford, will, I hope, allow the transcription of his version of the address, which ‘every schoolboy knows,’ to the Father of History :

‘Herodotus, Herodotus,
You could not spell, you ancient cuss!
The priests of Egypt gammoned you;
It was not very hard to do.
I hardly think you’ll gammon us,
Herodotus, Herodotus.’

‘Ἡρόδοθ’, ‘Ἡρόδοτ’, ἄττα παλαιγενές, οὐκ ἄγαμαί σε
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡπίστω γράμματα συντιθέναι
εὐπετέως δ’ ἐδόλουν σ’ Αἰγύπτιοι· ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡμῶν
οὐκ αἰγυπτιάσεις, ‘Ἡρόδοθ’, ‘Ἡρόδοτε.

The versatility of the Muse, in her lighter mood, may be illustrated by two trilogies where the same theme is handled in English, Latin, and Greek. The lines upon ‘Teddy Perowne,’ English and Latin, are traditional and, so far as I know, anonymous :

'Teddy Perowne has gone to his own :
 He has gone in a fiery chariot.
 Now he's sitting in state on a jolly hot plate
 With Pilate and Judas Iscariot.'

'Teddus en ! petiit sua nota Peronius arva
 Tartara Tartareis ad sua vectus equis.
 Hic inter comites lamna stridente superbit,
 Pontius hic, illic Iscariota sedet.'

The sonorous Greek version is by a retired proconsul :

“Οχῶ φλέγοντι Τέρθιος Περωνίδης
 φρούδος πρὸς αὐτοῦ Τάρταρ' ἐξωκισμένος·
 ἐκεῖ δ' Ἰούδου Ποντίου θ' ὁμόστολος
 μύδροις ἐφίζων πυρπνόις σεμνύνεται.

The other trilogy is the work of three hands. It was begun by Mr Cecil Baring in sending to a very beautiful young lady, along with the wedding gift of a looking-glass, these charming lines after the Elizabethan manner, 'To a Lady of Quality, with a Mirrour' :

'O'er all the world this Glasse has pride of place.
 Well for thee, Glasse, though frail, thou art not tender.
 Else how shouldst thou endure, Diana's face
 Daily possess'd of, daily to surrender?'

The Latin version is by the author of 'Leviora' :

'O speculum, toto quo non præclarius orbe est,
 Gaude, quod fragili deest tibi mollities.
 Quippe alia faciem non posses lege Dianæ
 Quoque die captam reddere quoque die.'

The Greek is by Mr F. W. Pember, Warden of All Souls' College :

Πρεσβίστην σέ γέ φημ' ἄλλων· καὶ σ' ὤλβισ', ἰσοπτρί,
 "Η, θραυστή περ' εἰδὺς, οὐ μαλακῇ τελέθεις.
 "Αλλως δ' Ἀρσινόης πῶς ἔτλης ἂν τὸ πρόσωπον
 Ἥματίη κατέχειν ἡματίη μεθέμεν ;

We may come a few steps down the slope of Parnassus and remind ourselves—those of us who cannot pretend to anything like the attainments of the scholars from whose crowns we have been gathering flowers—that humbler folks can find amusement in versifying familiar commonplace things, or in inditing metrical effusions

to their friends. The Muse can indeed be worshipped under the Dog Star in numbers frankly canine. 'O honey, my honey,' rendered as 'O mel, mel nostrum,' would be a case in point. So would a couplet reproducing the opening lines of the navy's 'Ode to a Sparrow':

'Sanguinolentus erat, si vera est fabula, passer
Cui domus in plumbo sanguinolenta fuit.'

And, in this manner but in prose, a great achievement was Lord Dufferin's speech in Iceland in reply to the toast of his health proposed by the Bishop: *

'Viri illustres, insolitus ut sum ad publicum loquendum ego propero respondere ad complimentum quod recte reverendus prelatus mihi fecit, in proponendo meam salutem: et supplico vos credere quod multum gratificatus et flattificatus sum honore tam distincto, etc.'

The Little Dog must have laughed to see such sport as that.

Few who have ever attempted to turn verses at all can have refrained from trying their hand at nursery rhymes. Mr Ramsay and Mr Broadbent themselves (for their names obstinately recur) do not despise them. Here is Mr Ramsay's version of 'Humpty Dumpty':

'Humptius in muro residebat Dumptius olim
Cum facta est clari magna ruina viri,
Humpti, te, Dumpti, nec equis nec milite toto
Rex potuit sedi restituere tuæ.'

And here are two of Mr Broadbent's versions:

'HI, DIDDLE DIDDLE.

'Evoe, per artem felis ovat lyra,
Et vacca lunam transilit; at canis
Arridet huic ludo pusillus,
Lanxque rapit cocleare secum.'

'THE OLD WOMAN WHO LIVED IN A SHOE.

'In socco vivebat anus, cui plurima proles:
"Tot pueris," queritur, "nescio quid faciam."
Ius sine pane dat et cæsos—nec parcitur ulli—
Verberibus cubitum protinus ire iubet.'

* 'Letters from High Latitudes,' No. VI.

If, greatly daring, I venture to append my own versions, independently composed, of the same nursery rhymes, I do so in no spirit of vain emulation of two masters of the art of versification, but merely in order to show how widespread is the practice in which they excel. I have essayed thus:

‘HUMPTY DUMPTY.’

‘Dumptius in muro considerat Humptius alto,
Humptius e muro Dumptius, ecce! cadit.
Principis haud valuere equitum peditumque cohortes
In solitos miserum restituisse Lares.’

‘HI, DIDDLE DIDDLE.’

‘Aspice ut æluri perstringant barbiton unguēs!
Ecce! super lunam mira iuvenca salit,
Accepit dulci catulus ioca tanta cachinno
Dum cyathus patina cum fugiente fugit.’

‘THE OLD WOMAN WHO LIVED IN A SHOE.’

‘Antiqua est mulier, cui præbet tecta cothurnus,
Natorum innumero sollicitata choro.
“Hei mihi! quid faciam?” rogat hæc: dat parca puellis
Dat pueris tenuem ius sine pane cibum:
Tum teneros artus crebro pulsata flagello
Mittitur in proprios cuncta caterva toros.’

Two more quotations from latter-day versifiers must suffice. Reginald Griffin, a brilliant young civil servant, slain, alas! in the Great War, once addressed the following ode to a friend and colleague returning from service overseas, the friend being a person who believed in the wisdom of building up the system by good living and was addicted to the game of bridge:

‘Pone me gratis adytis leporum
Ingeni crassi glacie remotis,
Quæ tenent almæ Veneres nitorque
Mercurialis.

‘Pone ubi blanda recreatur aura
Ignium corpus nivis odiosum,
Et mero systema epulisque in altum
Ædificetur.

'Picta post paullo viridante mensa
 Charta tractetur digito scienti:
 Apta dicendo Lalage comes sit,
 Apta tacendo

'Sit comes; fas sit faciem videri
 Pulchriorem unam Cnidiove Gyge aut
 Phosphoro haud impune oculis virorum
 Aspiciendo.

'Neu sequelæ unquam mihi peieratæ
 Pœna triplex sit misero luenda:
 Ecce Nizami videor beati
 Vincere sortem.'

Lastly, here are some verses, Latin and English, accompanying her godfather's christening gift to Mary, the infant daughter of Mr Justice Feetham, Chairman of the Irish Boundary Commission:

'Accipe, cara infans, vile hoc sed munus amici,
 Accipit ut clemens te, sua dona, Deus.
 Dividat imperium genitor: quæ debita pars sit
 Terminus auspicio mandet utrisque bono.
 Lætitiæ tibi pars sit maxima, neve parentum
 Pectoribus Mariam dividat ulla dies.'

'A little gift, dear little elf,
 Take from my slender store,
 As Heaven, which gave, accepts yourself
 Its small inheritor.'

'Let Daddy, carving Ireland's sod,
 Divide to each his share;
 And may the little Boundary God
 Look on and see all fair.

'But may your share be all the joy
 Your parents' love imparts,
 And no division e'er destroy
 The bond between your hearts.'

But no anthology of this kind can wholly omit the buds plucked by the inky fingers of the Muse's youngest follower, the Fourth Form boy.

Something of the sadness of the Sonnets of Shakespeare seems to haunt his translation of

'Post equitem sedet atra cura,'

as

'After riding, the Dark Lady sits down with care':

while the very spirit of Waterloo breathes through his rendering of

'Dido vento reditura secundo'

by

'Dido will come again with her second wind.'

The Duke of Wellington's hackneyed apophthegm is apocryphal, no doubt; but I like to think that that translation came from the playing fields of Eton.

And so I end where I began, at the nursery of the Duke of Wellington's brother, who has bequeathed to it the imperishable legacy of his poem:

'Fortunæ rerumque vagis exercitus undis
 In gremium redeo serus, Etona, tuum.
 Magna sequi, et summæ mirari culmina famæ,
 Et purum antiquæ lucis adire iubar,
 Auspice te, didici puer; atque in limine vitæ
 Ingenuas veræ laudis amare vias.
 Siqua meum vitæ decursu gloria nomen
 Auxerit, aut siquis nobilitarit honos,
 Muneris, alma, tui est; altrix da terra sepulchrum
 Supremam lacrimam da, memoremque mei.'

D. O. MALCOLM.

Art. 5.—THE GOLD STANDARD.

THE British Government, on April 28, took effective steps towards the full restoration of the Gold Standard, which was suspended in August 1914, owing to the situation created by the beginning of the War. This very important decision has been accepted by the majority of those competent to form an opinion on it, as wise in principle and also as judiciously timed. As was to be expected it has met with reasoned objection from some critics whose knowledge and intelligence entitle them to be heard, and with ignorant and, in some cases, interested opposition from other controversialists. The problem before the Government has been obscured in the minds of many by considerations respecting the Foreign exchanges, which have only a secondary degree of importance in connexion with it. It has been complicated by the pleadings of Mr J. M. Keynes and others who think that the Currency should be fixed in terms of internal prices by certain 'authorities,' who would use an official Index Number, registering 'the price of a standard composite commodity as their standard of value'; this would be supplemented by such other information respecting employment, production, credit, foreign trade, etc., as may be at their command. The validity and relevance of these statistics as a basis for resettling the Standard of Value are challenged by experts and economists of high reputation, who believe that a great deal of the disturbed state of home and foreign markets and international trade which has been afflicting this and other countries is due to there having been no Gold Standard, or any Standard, in Great Britain since August 1914. We have had a 'managed currency' instead.

The Government's object in getting the Gold Standard Act passed was to carry out one of the first duties of all Governments from the economic point of view—to re-equip the country with a sound monetary system, without which no healthy economic conditions at home and no healthy foreign exchange relations can exist for any community. A sound monetary system is indispensable for the well-being of Great Britain and the British Empire, quite independent of the Foreign exchanges. We

have, owing to the War, been working under unsound monetary conditions for eleven years, and we have not yet escaped from their evils, though we have begun to take measures to put an end to them. Incidentally, the restoration of a sound monetary system here will tend to assist the restoration of normal foreign exchange relations with all countries, and especially with those which already possess, or have re-adopted, sound monetary systems; but whether the other countries had sound systems or not, our business was to provide ourselves with one.

The controversy which has gone on for the last two years has done much to enlighten many of the public, and remind others, of the difficulties connected with the ideas expressed by 'Money,' 'Currency,' and Foreign exchanges; but it may be useful, before considering the results of the whole discussion which preceded the Government's decision, to set forth briefly what meanings are assigned to the above terms in science as well as in ordinary language. The first two are often used as if they meant the same thing, and 'Money' itself has more than one meaning, not only in the ordinary language of everyday life, but even in books on Economics. This use of one word to denote more than one thing has its inconveniences, but it cannot be avoided; Alfred Marshall pointed out that 'the need for elasticity in the use of the term Money is somewhat greater than in most other economic terms.' In order to avoid ambiguities a writer should be careful to state what particular meaning he attributes to the term in the investigation, or exposition he is engaged upon.

The primary use of Money is to serve as a Medium of Exchange. In remote times exchange was effected by barter; and when barter began gradually to be replaced by rude forms of what we now call 'money,' which allow of one, or more, commodities being habitually exchanged for any of the others, it was ascertained by the more 'progressive' races that metals were best suited for this purpose. There have been various 'freak' moneys, but they had no chance as compared with metals, and of the latter only Gold, Silver, and Copper have been widely employed as 'Standard' Money—that is, the Money in which the 'prices' of commodities are

valued, and which can nearly always be exchanged freely for commodities. Silver has been, and still is, used in many countries as Standard Money. In abnormal conditions, such as a siege, Money may become almost worthless compared with such things as food and ammunition.

It would be an advantage to clearness of thought if the word 'Money' were never used except for metallic coins. But that, as already observed, is a counsel of perfection. The City, the general public, which has no time to pick and choose scientific expressions, and even economists, use this word to denote various valuable articles which have not all the attributes of Money as usually defined in economic text-books. Debased coin continues to be called 'Money' until 'called in.' Bank notes, when legal tender, are often called simply 'Money,' even though they may be inconvertible and are consequently a very doubtful form of money. It is safer to call *all* bank notes 'paper money,' whether convertible or not, but the public cannot be expected to be so particular. In the City the 'Money' Market means a market in which 'Bankers' Money'—to use one of the many terms by which bank deposits in the form of cheques are designated—is dealt in. There is no general agreement among economists as to what is the right name for this elusive entity, into which, as Sir James Steuart said more than 150 years ago, any kind of 'wealth' can be 'melted.' In this article the word 'Money' will be used as meaning *coined metal* unless otherwise specified. At the present time, and for the most 'progressive' nations, the best material for 'Standard Money,' in this sense, is Gold. Silver possesses most of the physical attributes which fit a metal for use as Standard Money, but it is inferior to Gold.

The functions of Standard Money, as recognised by a fairly general agreement among the authorities, are to serve as: (a) A Medium of Exchange; (b) A Common denominator of Value; (c) a Store of Value; (d) a Standard of Deferred Payments. While the basis of the Monetary System is Gold, which as the Standard Money is unlimited legal tender, Silver is conveniently employed for higher denominations of 'token,' or subsidiary money, while bronze, nickel, etc., can be used for its lower

denominations. Standard Money (the only money which need now be considered) is Gold coined by the Mint, whenever sent to it. Until the Gold Standard Act (1925) became law any one might send gold to the Mint to be coined, but in practice no one sent it, except the Bank of England; the Bank may keep it in bars, or have it coined when it wants it. The essence of safety in a monetary system at the present day is very generally recognised to be that the standard coins should be metal, that the metal should be minted freely, and that there should be a free market in it, both for home and foreign trade. In addition, measures should be taken to withdraw from circulation Standard coins which have become too light through 'fair wear and tear.'

Next we deal with Paper Money. Legal tender notes of any kind should, in normal conditions, be convertible into gold at the option of the holder. If they are not so convertible and are at the same time legal tender for unlimited amounts the door is open for mischief. That is the condition in which this country had been for the past eleven years, owing to the issue by the Treasury of a large quantity of 'currency notes,' which were, from their inception, inconvertible; while simultaneously, the convertibility of the Bank of England notes had, of course, to be abandoned. This was necessitated by the War. For some years after the Armistice a return to convertibility was out of the question, but it was never out of the thoughts of sound economists and prudent statesmen. All through the War and the troubled years which have followed its end, the issues of 1*l.* and 10*s.* 'currency notes,' which had taken the place of metallic 'Standard' Money, were made with great care and prudence. Although they added considerably to the legal tender 'money' in circulation, the consequences which follow from the reckless issue of large quantities of inconvertible paper appeared in this country only to a moderate extent. They were displayed on a colossal scale in Russia, Germany, and Austria; while France and Italy have afforded less sensational but equally instructive examples of the derangement of the monetary systems of rich and powerful countries through excessive issues of inconvertible paper. In Great Britain the issue of such notes was kept so carefully within bounds

that the depreciation of the pound sterling, as compared with gold, never went far enough to become conspicuous to the general public, though it was visible to the business world, in the form of a fall in the New York sterling exchange (the United States being on a Gold basis), and caused much uneasiness and inconvenience.

The 'Foreign Exchanges' are the rates at which the 'Currency' of one country can be bought as expressed in terms of that of another. In this case 'Money' as defined above is included in the term 'Currency,' which is a convenient expression, fairly generally recognised for nearly fifty years, for 'all those things which are (at any time and place) generally "current" without doubt or special inquiry.'* In a modern, well-organised, and wealthy country, where normal conditions exist—that is, when bank notes, or other paper money, are convertible—the 'exchange' oscillates round a definite point, determined by the amount of gold in the Standard Money of the country. This is known as the 'par of exchange.' The oscillations are caused mainly by the fluctuations in the 'balance of trade'—that is, by the varying demand for, and supply of, means of remittance from one country to the other. How the Exchanges are 'quoted' in the market is the outcome of custom based on trade convenience. Each Exchange might be quoted in terms of the Currency of either of the countries concerned. As regards London the most convenient method for carrying on this class of business has been found to be to quote a price for the pound sterling in terms of the foreign Currency, Paris 'par' appearing in the List as, say, 25 f. 22½ c., and New York at \$4.86½ c. to the pound. The terms might be reversed, the value of the franc, and dollar, being each quoted in shillings and pence, and this is what is actually done in the case of India, and some other countries. But for most countries the exchange on London is given in the foreign money. The limits to the fall or rise in the exchange are called the 'gold points'; and the fact that either the upper or lower 'point' has been reached indicates, when there are no inconvertible notes, or not too large an amount of them is in circulation, that the normal supply of 'bills of

* Marshall, 'Money, Credit, and Commerce,' p. 13.

exchange,' which are the regular mode of remitting 'money' from one country to another, is temporarily exhausted, and that gold must be sent instead of bills. In the case of London the upper 'point' causes imports and the lower exports, of gold, when the pound sterling is quoted in foreign currency.

When, however, a country has issued a large quantity of inconvertible notes and goes on doing so, its exchanges on other countries become 'speculative'—that is, they are affected by the increase in the quantity of its total Currency, as well as by the varying balance of trade. If the issue of inconvertible notes is very large and continuous it will swamp the exchange altogether, obliterating the oscillations due to the trade balance, and making the country's 'currency' worth less and less in terms of those of the other countries. Paris on London has for some time been over 100 francs to the pound. In these circumstances it usually becomes necessary to make a distinction between Metallic Money and 'Currency'; as the depreciation of 'Currency' goes on, the prices of commodities are quoted in terms both of Metal and Paper, at all events, where exports are concerned.

When a country so situated wishes to recover its position, the first step to be taken is to cease issuing inconvertible paper, and later to make the outstanding notes convertible at the old level or at a new one. This is usually a very difficult task, especially when the gold value of the currency has approximated to zero, as occurred in Russia and Germany. Whenever a restoration of the old standard is proposed many producers and traders are sure to object to it, or to any similar measure, since it would probably mean a temporary decline in prices, which might jeopardise their existing short-term commitments. There are also people who make a living by speculating in the exchange, and, therefore, wish it to remain unfixed, and in such cases the general interest of the community must be placed before the interests of the few. The Government must take courage and get the standard fixed, as soon as possible. The general public, especially its poorer members, suffer great loss and inconvenience from a depreciated and fluctuating currency, and often do not attribute their troubles to the right

cause. Such a currency necessitates incessant calculations of the value of the 'money' they receive and pay out, as its purchasing power in relation to commodities, transport charges, rents, and all other things for which it is exchanged, varies from week to week, or even from day to day.

How soon the restoration of the Standard can be effected, after the emergency which necessitated the depreciation is over, must depend on circumstances. If the depreciation has gone very far a compromise may be needed, the restored valuation adopted being appreciably less than the old 'par.' If the inconvertible paper has become absolutely worthless, as was the case with the rouble, the mark, and the Austrian krone, a fresh start may have to be made with a new standard coin. Fortunately for us there has been no need to consider at what level we should resume payment of notes in gold, but only when it would be safe to do so. As already observed, it is natural that the Government's decision should have been opposed by some theorists, who are not fully satisfied with a Gold or any single-commodity standard, and indulged in the hope of getting some other method adopted; and also by people whose business arrangements would be disturbed by the change. The objection of the latter was not to the Gold Standard in principle, but to its being restored at the particular time determined on. Unfortunately there could, in the nature of things, never be a resumption date at which no one would be inconvenienced, and, if the Government had waited until such a date had arrived, the reform would never be carried out at all.

On the other hand, there has been a very general consensus of opinion that some time, and somehow, our monetary standard had to be fixed once more, and the common-sense view has always been that it should be fixed at the old 'par.' Any other solution was regarded as likely to damage the country's credit, which it certainly would have done, and to injure many public and private interests, not only here, but abroad. At the same time the less hopeful feared that it might be necessary to 'resume' at a lower level, on account of the long period during which the New York sterling exchange remained below gold parity by an amount which was

a rough measure of the depreciation of the pound. The upward movement of the exchange since March 1924, has made it possible to adopt the bolder course, and in spite of the opposition of a small body of economists, of whom the most conspicuous is Mr J. M. Keynes, the Government took it. Soon after the decision had been acted on, Mr Keynes endeavoured to frighten the public with a pamphlet specially directed against the Chancellor of the Exchequer containing, among other assertions, the following: 'The monetary policy, announced in the Budget, being the real source of our industrial troubles, it is impossible to recommend any truly satisfactory course except its reversal.' The policy thus denounced had hardly been in operation three months when Mr Keynes penned this extravagant sentence, and several others like it. It is impossible that so great an effect could have been produced in so short a time; and it is, besides, common knowledge that the coal trouble and most of our industrial troubles were with us many months, and even years, before Gold Standard Resumption began to be talked of. Mr Keynes also asserts that 'the policy of deliberately intensifying unemployment, with a view to forcing wages reductions, is already partly in force.' A pamphlet conceived in the reckless spirit which characterises these two pronouncements does not deserve the attention to which Mr Keynes's work is usually entitled, and which it has hitherto obtained; but 'The Economic Consequences of Mr Churchill' has, nevertheless, had the honour of being discussed, and effectually answered, by Sir Henry Strakosch in the 'Times,' and Lord Bradbury in the 'Financial News.' The attack on the policy of Resumption has also been replied to by Dr Walter Leaf in the 'Westminster Bank Review' for August.

Now that the Gold Standard is once more, to all intents and purposes, re-established, trade will probably begin to feel before long the good effect of a fixed value for the pound sterling—that is, as fixed a value as any Standard can have. We had been fully accustomed before the War to a state of things in which the 'bill on London' embodied a definite value, measured in gold, and a good many people hardly realised, even during the War, that that value had been impaired at all, although they were

conscious of a number of very disagreeable facts of an economic kind arising from it. The dangerous part of our monetary war finance, the issue of inconvertible notes, was kept within bounds by the Treasury. The fact that the increase of 'purchasing power' necessitated by the War was partly supplied in the form of a great increase in *bank credits*, which are more easily reduced, when no longer needed, than notes, made it easier for the Treasury to avoid the excessive note issues which imperilled the financial position of France and Italy by greatly depreciating their currencies. In spite of the warnings of 'modern' economists, who do not wish to 'fix' the Standard at all, but to modify it at intervals, all the countries whose affairs have come down to bedrock are finding that the only safe rules are the old ones. Several of them are re-establishing, or have established, metallic (gold) currencies: France and Italy, the two important countries whose currencies are still depreciated, have not, it may be surmised, yet given up the hope that their 'standard' moneys may eventually come back to their 'par value,' without their taking special measures to produce that result. Even if their hopes are not realised they are unlikely to try experiments in the directions of 'fixing' the franc and lira by reference to internal price Index Numbers, as the modern school would advise. As for the United States, it may safely be said that that great country, whose currency has been unaffected, is committed more than ever to the Gold Standard, being the holder of much the largest stock of the metal. It is true that the Federal Reserve Board, its central banking authority, is rather too much under political influence to be regarded as a thoroughly safe guardian of the monetary policy of the country. But the Board is by no means wholly political, and the American Banking community is a very powerful body, and has, so far, prevented unwise politicians from doing much mischief since it was constituted. It is, however, a misfortune that the original idea of the Federal Reserve Board, as a body to be kept free from political influence, has only been partially maintained.

Perhaps the experience of our cousins in this respect has not been without its use for us, as it may have strengthened the determination shown here to 'keep

the Government out of the banking business,' as far as possible. Mr Keynes and others hanker after the enactment of banking and monetary arrangements by which prices and, as he hopes, 'credit cycles' might be controlled in the interests of 'far-reaching social reforms.' The idea of devising means for getting rid of variations in the 'purchasing power of Money' is not a new one. It may be admitted to be in theory a desirable end. No one denies that Gold varies in purchasing power from time to time. Over long periods it has varied considerably, and, theoretically, it may vary from year to year. Very likely it does; but the variations during short periods are too small to make it worth while to alter the valuation, and disturb contracts, in order to meet so minute a requirement. Few men, or women, whether engaged in business or not, would like to be obliged for the pleasure of theorists to calculate their receipts and expenditure in accordance with periodical revisions of the Pound sterling, or the Dollar, or the Franc, based on a 'Tabular Standard,' which is a standard based on an Index Number obtained by combining a number of prices. An Index Number, in its simplest and oldest form, is a figure based on a list of commodity-prices, 'weighted' arbitrarily in accordance with the estimated relative importance of the separate articles included in the list; the sum of the prices thus 'weighted' is divided by their numerical total, and the resulting average is the 'Number.' Much thought, ingenuity, and hard work have been expended during the last forty years by Prof. Edgeworth and others in improving this instrument of economic investigation; and the crude arithmetical average is now, as a rule, replaced in modern tables by a more accurate mathematical expression termed the 'Median,' which has as many prices above as below it. Index Numbers are useful as indications of changes in the general level of prices, but it is not safe to employ them except as evidence that there has been some change; as evidence of its amount they are not to be implicitly trusted. There are many Index Numbers in use, and they generally differ, and not always consistently, in the extent of rise, or fall, shown. Index Numbers and Tabular Standards involve conceptions which, though familiar to economists, and

not unknown to other persons interested in economics, are not easy of comprehension to the many; and when the ordinary man of business, professional man, and intelligent workman find, on inquiry, that the economists are not agreed as to what Tabular Standard should be used in order to arrive at a right measure of 'purchasing power,' and are still more at variance as to how it should be used, they will prefer to retain the Gold Standard. Prof. Irving Fisher, an American economist of deservedly high reputation, who has made a profound study of the subject, and is strongly in favour of a method of his own, has no illusions as to the immediate practicability of any scheme for finding a substitute for gold. Before such a substitute can be found, 'there must,' he says, 'be much investigation and education of the public.' That is the last word on the matter, for the present. But, there is no reason why repayment in terms of a Tabular Standard should not be provided for in arranging a contract for long Deferred Payments of any kind, if the parties to the contract are willing. It would be best to leave the selection of the Table to those concerned, though, no doubt, there would be busybodies who would do their best to get some Standard or other stamped with Government approval. If a Tabular Standard was found to be of use over long periods, its use over shorter periods might gradually become fairly common. But such an evolution of an idea which depends for its success on complete confidence in a Table is likely to be slow, and, meanwhile, there is nothing at the present time that can conveniently take the place of Gold as a measure of value in Europe and America, at any rate. For practical purposes and over short periods it is a good measure of value, and even if it were a worse one than it is, it possesses for all men at this stage of the world's history the transcendent merit of being accepted as a settlement of debts.

Mr Keynes is in favour of 'stabilising' the currency in terms of internal prices, without reference to the foreign exchanges. He regards the exchanges generally as what he calls a 'shock-absorber,' to take up and neutralise the effect of changes in 'international gold-credit' to which, he thinks, wages in this country cannot be adjusted rapidly enough. The exchanges have, during

the last few years, failed to produce the result Mr Keynes desires, and as Sir Henry Strakosch has pointed out, they are capable of acting as 'shock-producers' as well as 'shock-absorbers.' But Mr Keynes's disquisitions on these matters are difficult to follow even by experts, partly no doubt because they are based, like those of some other theorists, on statistics of prices and wages here and abroad which are open to criticism in themselves and also in their applicability to the subject; but partly because he has more than once shifted his ground. One of the things that come out with clearness is that he is, or was, opposed to any fixing of the Gold Standard until a rise in prices in the United States raised the New York sterling exchange to 'par,' prices here remaining unaltered. But there was reason, as Mr Keynes admits,* to think that a rise in American prices might take place. It is more likely to take place now that we have returned to the Gold Standard than was the case before, but, as Lord Bradbury says, 'it would be the height of folly to gamble on it.' We shall not gamble on anything, and, as a matter of fact, by 'fixing' the Gold Standard we have removed one 'gamble' from the list of possible policies. For what is keeping the Standard unfixed but waiting on Fortune to help us?

The magnitude of the accumulation of gold in the United States has led some observers to expect that New York would become the chief Money Market in the World instead of London. No such change has occurred, but New York is a more powerful Market than it was before the War, and is likely to remain so. The increase in New York's importance is due partly to its holding so much gold; but more to the fact that the Federal Reserve Board, though not so good a central banking institution as it ought to be, because it is too much liable to be controlled by political forces, is an effective agency for holding the ultimate banking reserve of the United States, which they had not possessed before. Such a reserve ought, of course, to be in the hands of an independent body, as was originally intended, a suitable liaison with the United States Treasury being arranged for. Good as the Federal Reserve's management has been, its

* 'Economic Consequences,' note, p. 27.

liability to be interfered with by 'politics' has prevented it from attaining the complete confidence of the business world either in America or abroad. And, until it is stronger relatively to the Treasury and Congress, New York is not likely to oust London. In the meantime London, in its temporarily weakened state, has depended a good deal on New York for aid in repairing the financial organism destroyed by the War, and will continue to need such aid a while longer. The two cities have many interests in common, and no serious causes of quarrel between them exist, so that Mr Churchill has been able to make a friendly arrangement with the Federal Reserve Board and Messrs J. P. Morgan, by which he may borrow (under Powers set forth in Section 2 of the Act) 'money required for the purpose of exchange operations in connexion with the return to the gold standard.' It will probably not be needed, but it was prudent to make it.

Violent fluctuations in the exchanges are an obstacle to the smooth course of business with foreign countries, a very important matter for Great Britain; and the Standard Act will do something to mitigate them. It may not be much, at first, but one source of the fluctuations—uncertainty as to what our policy is—has been removed. Of course, no doubt must be allowed to arise as to our adhering steadfastly to the decision, and all its implications. As Lord Bradbury says, 'We ought certainly to part with gold as freely as public opinion will allow us, if the exchange goes against us. We ought to draw on the American credit if, and when, the propaganda of the British enemies of the gold standard succeeds in scaring the American holders of sterling balances into withdrawing them.' Probably the 'propaganda' will have little effect, and withdrawals of these balances will not take place until the exchange situation makes them profitable as a business operation, and, when that is the case, it will be a good thing that the balances should go back to New York. It would be a pity if they were withdrawn on any other ground than that their owners could get more for them at home than here. What we must all look forward to is a continuance of the gradual restoration of the economic tissues and filaments which united the great centres of business

before the War, and made reasonable calculation as to the course of events possible. The return of London to the Gold Standard at a time when the United States Treasury is suffering from such a plethora of gold as no country ever experienced before, is a good thing for the States as well as for us. Probably American bankers and business men generally have been waiting for such action on our part. They could not reasonably have expected it sooner. It is, after all, barely seven years since the Armistice, a very short time in which to set the business affairs of the British Empire in order once more; that was the problem before our Government, since the situation of every Oversea Dominion had to be taken into account, as well as the situation relatively to us of the principal foreign countries. Until at least six months have elapsed from the end of April the statistical information available will hardly be sufficient to admit of an opinion worth anything being formed as to the results of our return to the Gold Standard. Looking at the figures for the first four months these results are by no means unfavourable. There has been no 'disaster,' such as the more impetuous critics prophesied; Gold has been sent into the Bank of England instead of being withdrawn from it, on balance; the movements 'in' and 'out' were fairly large, and there is good reason to think that although exports of gold are to be expected in the autumn, in payment for imports of grain and cotton from the United States, the Bank will not find that its gold stock has been greatly changed in either direction by the end of the year.

The position of the United States as the holder for several years of an enormous mass of Gold which it has simply 'sat on,' and made little or no use of as a basis for 'inflationist' credit operations, is an unusual one and of considerable inconvenience to the New York banks, and United States banks generally. It is often assumed, especially by currency theorists, who, as a rule, know little of practical banking or any other of the larger kinds of business, that if a big bank has a large gold reserve it will be keenly bent on employing it, with a view to earning increased profits, and for this purpose will offer its customers more liberal terms than they have been accustomed to and generally act in a manner

likely to 'stimulate trade.' As a matter of fact, the policy of such a bank will depend on various things, but it is pretty certain that there will be no *coûte que coûte* thrusting of money on borrowers. The managers or directors in charge of big banks are not the sort of men to lend money imprudently, no matter how much they may have at their disposal. They may lend more freely in the circumstances supposed than if their resources are not abnormally swollen; but they will, like Falstaff's tailor, want 'security,' and will draw the line at some point, as regards both amounts and charges. It is probable that the big American banks have been lending and discounting as much as they have thought wise, and that their ideas of what is wise are not very different from the ideas of the Federal Reserve Board and the United States Treasury. It may be that they and the Board have not been using their enormous resources as freely as they might have used them if London had been on a Gold basis. London with a free gold market and London without it are two very different things, and the latter is a condition to which the world's trade has not been used until the War upset everything. It is quite possible that the semi-paralysis of the London Money Market, due to the absence of a free Gold Market, has been an important factor in the general sluggishness of trade everywhere; and if that was so, the restoration of our Money Market to full activity may have a considerable effect in the right direction.

It must not be forgotten that London is not yet an absolutely free Gold Market, because the Bank has been given a discretion in the matter of paying notes in legal tender coin, and of selling gold for export, except in a prescribed form. No obstacles have, however, so far, been placed in the way of any one who wished to export, and, if a guess may be hazarded, there does not seem to be much probability of the Bank having to use its powers in this respect. The state in which we now are as regards the Gold Standard although transitional, is sufficiently defined by the Act to satisfy our foreign friends that the pound sterling is, or in a short time will be, what it used to be, a safe basis for the transaction of international business of all kinds.

It has been necessary to dwell on the exchange side

of the matter, but it should be again stated emphatically that Gold Standard Resumption was necessary, as soon as it was practicable, in order to restore soundness to the internal monetary situation. And until all notes, both Bank of England and Currency, are convertible the reform will not be completed. But enough has been done for the present, and we can await the next stage with reasonable confidence. It does not follow, of course, that, even when all legal tender notes have been made convertible, the country's circulation will again be largely gold coin as it was before the War. A Gold Standard may exist without a gold currency; and the public, having become used to paper, may prefer it to metal, as its 'pocket money.' Whether that will prove to be the case no one can say positively. The feelings of individuals on this matter are not based on logic, and the important thing is that they should have what they prefer, be it paper or be it coin. Until the arrival, as a War necessity, of the currency 1*l.* notes, every denomination of money under 5*l.* was metallic, except in Scotland, where the 1*l.* notes of private banks were already in general circulation. It remains to be seen whether a general desire to return to gold coins will be shown.

What is greatly to be desired is an increase in the number of persons with bank accounts, which would be accompanied by a wider employment of cheques, which are the most effective form of 'currency' yet evolved, though not legal tender—a currency which expands and contracts just as it is wanted, and saves the wear and tear of the coinage. The ideal would be that every one should have a banking account, and use it for all but small disbursements. But it will probably be a good while before this end is attained. What is to be avoided is a system under which inconvertible paper could be issued by the Government in order to 'stabilise' the currency. Sooner or later, a Government would come into office which would abuse their issuing powers, to provide for expenditure not authorised by Parliament, or approved by the country.

WYNNARD HOOPER.

Art. 6.—THE GOLDEN AGE OF CHINA.

1. *Mémoires, concernant l'Histoire Des Chinois*. Par les Missionnaires de Pe-kin. Tome Cinquième. Paris Nyon l'aîné, 1780.
2. *Outlines of Chinese History*. By Li Ung Bing. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1914.
3. *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*. By E. F. Fenellosa. Heinemann, 1912.
4. *Confucianism and its Rivals*. By Herbert Giles Williams and Norgate, 1915.
5. *The Historical Development of Religion in China*. By Walter J. Clennell. Unwin, 1917.
6. *The Problem of China*. By Bertrand Russell. Allen and Unwin, 1922.
7. *The Sayings of Lao Tzŭ*. By Lionel Giles. Wisdom of the East Series. Murray, 1906.
8. *The Sayings of Confucius*. By Lionel Giles. Murray 1907.

And other works.

THERE are two aspects to national history, even as there are two to the ordered human soul—the purposeful and the incidental. The purpose of a nation is rarely self-conscious at the beginning, but it breaks into self-consciousness with the flowering of Empire. To be conscious of self-consciousness of mission, conscious of superiority, is to allow 'the inward standard to manifest itself without.' It is the end in sight; but the purpose of a nation through all its phases, its greatness, its mission, its superiority are the lawful materials of the historian. If he possesses the one essential qualification beyond book-learning and research—that of historical imagination—he can recreate out of these broken scraps of machinery, these shards from the dust-heaps of oblivion, something of the methods of government and social life of Empires whose sun will never rise again. And all that is incidental, the rise and wane of dynasties, the tramp of legions, conquest and annexation, the ebb and flow of barbarians across the frontier, will be treated as incidental and only shown in so far as it stimulates or weakens and diversifies the national purpose.

'Chinese history,' says Bertrand Russell, in the

'Problem of China,' 'consists of a series of dynasties, each strong at first and weak afterwards, each gradually losing control over subordinates, each followed by a period of anarchy . . . and ultimately succeeded by a new dynasty which temporarily establishes a strong central Government.' We should, however, also remember that the history of a great dynasty is the history of the impetus given in the first place by its founder. Afterwards there may come a fresh impetus from which the Empire gathers new strength and acquires new sources of inspiration, but the fountain head is invariably the Emperor. He is the Father of his people. This is not to say that the Emperor was necessarily a great and original genius, a personality bigger than any of his subjects. What, then, was the secret of his influence on the national destiny? It lay, in my opinion, in his choice of ancestors?

The lower part of man inherits, the spiritual part adopts, and the ancestors of the human soul are those of adoption. The founder of the T'ang dynasty had the exemplars of 2500 years to choose from, and he chose with honour. This T'ai Tsung was in reality the second of his line; but it was his military genius that brought his father to the throne in 618 A.D., and when Kao Tsu allowed the reins of government to slip they were caught in the strong hands of his second son. Thenceforth, T'ai Tsung drove on to his appointed goal—the consolidation of China. He had no less than eleven rivals in eleven independent and hostile states, and one by one he subdued them all. Who, then, were his ancestors by adoption, and what influences from the past were brought to bear upon the moulding of his character?

In the first place, as a Chinese Emperor, and therefore loyal to tradition, he would take from tradition the legendary figures of Yao and Shun, the first Emperors of his race. Of them it need only be said that they embodied all that the nation looked for in kingcraft and statesmanship. Yao was the mouthpiece of his people. 'Every one had access to his Court either to offer a suggestion or make a criticism.' Shun was a patriarch of the Jacob type, receiving both Leah and Rachel from his father-in-law, Yao. It is interesting to note that at this period,

2200 B.C., there was a minister of education of Cabinet rank, with wider powers than any similar official possesses to-day. Yet neither we nor T'ai Tsung would have known much of Yao and Shun had it not been for Confucius. In 501 B.C., at the age of fifty, Confucius began his chequered career as a public official; but only at the end of it, as a broken, harassed, and disappointed man, did he settle down to edit the famous classics which are known to this day as his. No one can treat of any portion of Chinese history without referring to his outlook on Government and public affairs. More especially are we concerned with his attitude towards the rulers of his day. Chi K'ang Tzū asked by what means he might cause his people to be respectful and loyal, and encourage them in the path of virtue. Confucius replied: 'Conduct yourself towards them with dignity, and you will earn their respect; be a good son and a kind prince, and you will find them loyal; promote the deserving and instruct those who fall short, and they will be encouraged to follow the path of virtue.' The same prince asked for advice on the subject of government. Confucius answered: 'To govern is to keep straight. If you, sir, lead the people straight, which of your subjects will venture to fall out of line?' Again he says, 'The virtue of the prince is like unto wind; that of the people like unto grass. For it is the nature of grass to bend when the wind blows upon it.' In all these answers we see the sovereign held up as the pattern and example of his people. From the point of view of Chinese paternalism, it was the duty of the head of the family when things went wrong in the family circle to examine himself and so find out where the primary cause lay, and this applied specially to the ruler, who was, beyond all else, the Father of his people. Confucius held with many modern thinkers that the material prosperity of the people came before their education. It was of little use to feed the brain when the stomach was empty. Jan Yu said, 'Now that the people are so abundant, what is the next thing to be done?' 'Prosper them,' said Confucius. 'And having prospered them, what then?' 'Teach them,' was the reply. At the very centre of Confucianism lies the doctrine of adjustment. The Emperor adjusts himself

to the requirements of his great ministers; they in turn to the provincial governors; they to the local magistrates; and so on down the scale of social order. This adjustment may be described as the harmony of one human sphere of influence in its relation to another. The Master taught with music and ceremonies. For him music was the expression of a common brotherhood of humanity through feelings which never change and all possess—through joy and sorrow, delight, fear and exaltation. 'Ceremonies,' says Confucius, 'distinguish the things in which men differ. Hence the theory of music and ceremonies embraces the whole nature of man.' Alas! in years to come music itself became a ceremony and ceremony a convention, and Confucianism hung like a formal garment on the bowed shoulders of the doctrinaire. Confucius must, however, share with another the paternity of T'ai Tsung.

It is related in a popular legend that the spirit of Lao Tzū appeared to a simple farmer in his rice-field and gave him the following command: 'Go and inform your sovereign that I am his ancestor.' Upon hearing this Kao Tsu, father of T'ai Tsung, who was then on the throne, caused a temple to be erected to his first ancestor. The Book of the Way of Virtue, the Tao Te King of Lao Tzū, became the household classic of the T'ang dynasty, and all members of the royal family were required to master its contents. Surely the world has never seen so small a scripture from any of its great Teachers, nor one that apparently failed so completely to be understood, to hold or convince! Taoism did not belong to its age any more than it does to ours. It belonged essentially to an age we dream of and build in our dreams, to the adornment of which we bring all things unwanted in a world of militarism and chaos—our ideals and aspirations and the secret jewels we are ashamed to display in the eyes of curiosity and indifference. Of Taoism it has been finely said by Mr Lionel Giles that it can never hope to hold its own in human affairs until indeed the new era dawns of which Plato dreamed long ago, and this world of ours becomes ripe for the dominion of Philosopher-Kings.

At the centre of Lao Tzū's doctrine lies the spirit of adjustment; but, unlike that of Confucius, which aimed

at the social adjustment of man in relation to his fellow-men and was united, the adjustment of Lao Tzū reached out through man and nature to the Godhead. The man of Tao was one who lived in harmony, not merely with his age, nation, class, and family, but with the four seasons, with night and day, joy and anger, sorrow and happiness, caution and remorse, getting the best out of life's varied moods and adapting himself to her myriad changes, making of himself, so far as mortal man is able, a microcosm of God. The instrumental music of Confucius gives place to something vaster and more uplifting in this universal orchestra of creation in which beings and elementals play their part. The attitude of Lao Tzū on the subject of Government may be gathered from the following: 'Govern a Great Nation as you would cook a small fish,' that is, don't overdo it. Again, 'Do not confine the people within too narrow bounds; do not make their lives too weary. If you do not weary them of life, then they will not weary of you.' His ambition for the ruler was that he should rule so lightly that the people did not know they were being ruled. Living in the midst of a feudal age with warring states on all sides, he was the greatest opponent of militarism before Christ, whom he resembles more than any other Teacher. Taoism discriminates between the thing done deliberately and the thing done unconsciously. The child learning to walk does so with deliberation step after step, the man walks easily and naturally. The essence of Taoism is a natural implicit obedience to the divine urge from within, never a blind unguided drifting along the stream of life. These, then, are the ancestors of T'ai Tsung—Tradition, Confucius, and Lao Tzū. Of these we may safely claim tradition as the greatest, for it is the foundation of the other two. And linked inseparably with tradition is filial duty.

'The Emperor,' says Prof. Giles, 'has been uniformly regarded as the son of God by adoption only, and liable to be displaced from that position for the offence of misrule. If the ruler failed in his duties, the obligation of the people was at an end, and his divine right disappeared simultaneously.'

When T'ai Tsung formally ascended the throne in 627 A.D., he found the forces of Taoism and Confucianism

about equally balanced, and there is no reason to suppose that he favoured either at the expense of the other. One of the most significant facts in all Chinese History is this—that when both Taoism and Confucianism flourished in emulation side by side, the Empire prospered; when one or the other obtained the mastery—the Empire shrank and fell to decay. Confucianism was the ethical system of the North, Taoism the idealist philosophy of the South. After T'ai Tsung, Taoism gradually triumphed over its rival and weakness and anarchy were the result. Under the Ming dynasty, in 1421, Confucianism finally prevailed and the Empire became an easy prey to the Manchu. As I have pointed out in a footnote to Mr H. G. Wells's 'The Outline of History,'

'both systems carried within them the seeds of decay. Taoism, divorced from the affairs of everyday life and the education of the people, lost itself in art, literature, and mythology. Confucianism added layer after layer of hard shell about the inner organism of social life.'

It died to music and ceremonies—music ceremonialised and ceremonies whose very meaning had been lost. But T'ai Tsung held himself above the rivalries of creeds and sects. His capital, the city of Chang-an, was open to Nestorians, Manichæans, and Mahommedans alike. In 634, Christianity was first introduced by the Syrian monk Olopun. In 638, the first Christian church was built, and we are able to catch a glimpse of a master mind in one of the most remarkable decrees ever issued from the throne rooms of the world.

'The truth does not always appear under the same name, nor is divine inspiration always embodied in the same form. Religions vary in various lands, but the underlying principle of all is the salvation of mankind.'

And at the end of the decree is found the following summary of Christianity :

'Carefully examining the object of this doctrine, we find that it is profoundly mysterious and associated with striving through the power of the inner life (Lao Tzu's Wu Wei); it establishes the important points of our birth and growth, it helps animals and it profits mankind; therefore, it should circulate wherever in the world we hold sway.'

T'ai Tsung's deathbed counsel to his son runs as follows: Be just, but above all things be humane, rule your passions, and you will easily rule the hearts of your subjects. Your good example will do far more than rigorous enactments would to make men fulfil their duties. Be sparing with punishments, generous with rewards, never put off till to-morrow a boon you could confer at once, but postpone the infliction of punishments till you are absolutely certain they are deserved.

It took T'ai Tsung five years of incessant fighting to subdue eleven independent and rebellious kingdoms before the unity of China was accomplished and the victor returned to lay the spoils of conquest humbly at his father's feet. Thus, the pageant of the T'angs begins with horsemen—cavalry galloping to Chang-an, bridle to bridle, squadron on squadron, the sun glinting on war-worn armour, on the jewelled scabbards of their leaders, and their nodding plumes. As they approach the triple walls of the capital, horses are reined in and the headlong gallop steadies into the rhythmic trot of many thousands; while from the drum-towers and bell-towers of the watching city break the clash and clamour of uncontrollable forces, of joy, delight, and triumph, and the rapture of sunlight after years of darkness. This great impetus of a young indomitable leader and his gallant horsemen will surge on through three centuries till its strength is spent, its numbers decimated by treachery and ambush; finally, a little band of phantoms vanishes into the dust of Chinese chronicle or rides into the twilight tapestries of romance. And how pitiful is the inglorious end when the last of twenty Emperors, a trembling boy, humbly resigned the throne to a common adventurer, and the great seal of the T'angs fell into hands stained with his brothers' blood!

'By using a mirror of brass,' said T'ai Tsung, 'you may see to adjust your hat; by using antiquity as a mirror you may learn to foresee the rise and fall of Empires; but by using men as a mirror, you may see your own merits or demerits.' The Emperors who followed him observed the first and largely neglected the other two of these counsels, and so the T'ang dynasty faded out. I think I have said enough to show that T'ai Tsung was anything but a mere military adventurer,

a Napoleon of the Far East. All his recorded sayings are those of a wise and far-seeing statesman, with a deep knowledge of human nature. Equally well-balanced in body and mind his chief recreations were sport and literature. Old Age Pensions and the Endowment of Motherhood, 'things whereof,' as Mrs Grantham points out, 'Europe is only just taking thought,' were two of his enactments. No conqueror knew better than he that 'an Empire founded on horseback cannot be governed on horseback.' Near his palace he built an immense library containing over 200,000 books. He had special rooms adjoining where he could meet scholars and discuss literary matters with them. Often he would work there from dawn to dusk. He founded government schools where arithmetic, law, penmanship, and other subjects were taught. From these schools boys of exceptional ability might pass on to the Imperial College where Physics, Oratory, and knowledge of Official Documents were included in the curriculum. From these young men the civil servants of China were chosen, and degrees were conferred on those who passed the examinations. T'ai Tsung established a standing army and a militia for home service. Under its protection the peasant was able to till his fields in safety, and the sense of national security quickened the whole body of the nation into action. So this great peaceful Empire expanded in spirit as it fostered the unity in diversity of its natural forces, of Confucianism and Taoism, sanity in politics and idealism in art and literature, of guardianship over the freedom and security of its myriad workers within.

And simultaneously attracted by its fame and prosperity embassies poured into it from all quarters; from India, Nepal, and Thibet; from the Greeks whose ambassador reached the Court in 640 A.D.; from Persia; from the first Caliphs of the new Mahommedan Power, Omar and Othman, and the neighbouring kingdoms of Corea and Japan. Chinese education exacted its tribute from the students of all nations. About 5000 young men of foreign birth studied in the schools of Chang-an. 'Fleets of Chinese junks sailed up the Persian Gulf, whilst thousands of Arab merchants settled in Hangchow and other coastal cities.' The Empire under

the first Emperors of the T'ang extended from the Yellow Sea to the Aral Sea in Turkestan, and from Siberia to Cambodia, the southernmost point in China. It was divided by T'ai Tsung into ten provinces; while the outside dependencies, such as Mongolia, the Turkeshans and Corea (which for a time became subject to China), and Tonquin, were governed by six viceroys.

In taking leave of T'ai Tsung we may pause for a moment to look back at the scenes of triumph and the cities of his inspiration. Fenellosa in his epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art has painted this glowing picture of his time which may well linger in the mind when dates, facts, and numbers become fluid and go drifting into some forgotten backwater.

'We have seen,' says Fenellosa, 'that the root of the exceptional genius of T'ang lay in the variety of its sources, and in their fertile reaction upon each other when brought into contact at a common capital. The wealth, too, of the Empire had never before reached such height. Buildings were grander, stuffs and clothing more exquisite, food more plentiful, the people happier, engineering works more stupendous, than in the Han dynasty or in any preceding period of Chinese history. The Eastern capital, Loyang in the ancient peaceful seats of the Hoangho valley, became now rebuilt upon a scale which accommodated more than two million people. Great public gardens and museums gave recreation to the people. The private palace gardens were raised on mighty walled terraces, pavilion crowned, that enjoyed far prospect over lakes and bays—or sunk into cool shady wells where plum trees shot their scaly arms into the shape of dragons, and ancient pines had been trained to writhe like serpents through the interstices of water-worn stone. Great jars of hard paste pottery covered with creamy glazes and tiles of deeper hue, probably purple and yellow . . . gave brilliancy to the landscape architecture. Pavilions rose above granite and marble foundations in rainbow tier after tier; great banqueting halls, and blue silk awnings, and heavy portières, shot with golden thread, adding alike to the exalted coolness and the æsthetic transitions. Indeed, in these great days of early T'ang, China had become the metropolitan garden of Asia, surpassing the splendours of Khan or Caliph at Samarcand and Damascus and Bagdad.'

It should not be inferred, however, from this picture

that T'ai Tsung was a kind of oriental satrap, intent, as his predecessor Yang Ti of the Sui dynasty had been, upon hanging gardens and pleasure towers and Arabian-night palaces tunnelled deep into the ground, lest the sun should be put to shame by scenes of orgy that were better hidden. Not for himself, but for the symbol of power he represented, he built and planned according to the revenues and prosperity for which he was primarily responsible. With Confucius he recognised that 'to govern a country of a thousand chariots there must be reverent attention to business, and faithfulness, economy in expenditure, and love for the people.' His own words are almost an echo of the Master's teaching:

'The Welfare of the Empire depends upon the People; an Emperor who robs his people to enrich himself, is like a man who cuts off his own flesh to supply his stomach. . . . How many Emperors have owned their Ruin to their Ambition! What expenses were they at to maintain it! And what heavy taxes were laid upon the poor to supply them! When the people are racked and oppressed, what becomes of the Empire? Is it not upon the brink of destruction, and what is the Emperor if the Empire perish?'

And so, applying the lessons of history to himself, he adds, 'These are the reflexions that served to regulate my desires.' After a reign of twenty-three eventful years he died and was succeeded by his son, Kao Tsung.

Not even the pitiful weakness of this Emperor, who surrendered the reins of Government to a woman, could check the impetus of the national destiny started by his father. Too well had T'ai Tsung used the mirror of men; his great generals swept on to victory, the commerce of China expanded, and the golden dawn of Chinese literature began with Wang Po and Ch'en Tzu-ang. Corea was added to the Empire—Mongolia was pacified, that ancient enemy of China, the Western Turkic tribe, was finally subdued, and after five years of good intentions, Kao Tsung paid his fatal visit to a Buddhist nunnery where one of his father's former favourites, Wu Chow, was interned. Attracted by her remarkable beauty he had her removed to his palace, where shortly afterwards she became his Empress. Gradually he

allowed the imperial power to fall into her capable hands until he became merely the consort of his wife. She put on the ceremonial robes of state used by the Emperor alone, and was present at every audience given by him.

It is hard to form a just estimate of this woman, for if she had the morals of Catherine the Great she had equally the shrewd wisdom of Queen Elizabeth. If the Buddhist monk, Hwai-yi, was her paramour and the infamous Rasputin of her reign, the great Prime Minister, Ti Jin-Kien, was the Burleigh of his age on whose counsels she leaned. Her love of pleasure was not greater than her untiring industry and application to the affairs of State. In the small hours of the morning when all Chang-an was sleeping 'she would appear in the audience chamber and with her cabinet devise measures for the Government of the Country.' Strong-willed though she was, and headstrong in many things, she knew how to yield when danger threatened, and even gave up her cherished ambition of founding a new dynasty through her brother's house when civil war appeared to be the inevitable result. Unlike Catherine and other Empresses of her type, she never allowed the heart to interfere with the head. Hwai-yi was given no chance to meddle in politics. Ten thousand workmen built him the finest temple in China, which he burnt in a moment of pique; but when he entered the hall of audience he had his face slapped by the Prime Minister for failing to pay him proper respect, and Wu Chow merely cast down her eyes and remained silent. Such was the awe inspired by this remarkable woman that when finally the victorious conspirators burst into her room, and life and death were balanced by a hair, they found a venerable figure seated Buddha-like on a low divan with features of inscrutable calm, and eyes that gazed through them and beyond them into the seventh heaven of Buddhahood. As one man the company fell on their faces, while the leader humbly entreated her to accept the title of 'The Great and Sacred Empress, the equal of Heaven,' and a palace of suitable grandeur and space for so august a being. With a single inclination of her head she accepted, and so at the ripe age of eighty passed out of the spheres of romance and politics into a

more exalted region. She is known to history as 'Wu, the equal of Heaven'; she was at least equal to anything on earth, and is probably still a source of perplexity to the Judge of the Infernal Regions.

Two emperors who stand between her and Ming-Huang are of little importance, and with Ming-Huang, 713-756, the second era of the T'ang dynasty commences.

The prompt action of Ming-Huang, when hardly more than a boy he had put himself at the head of a few soldiers and quelled the conspiracy of the Empress Wei to appoint herself Regent, saved the T'ang dynasty and gave the throne to his father, the rightful heir. But Jui Tsung had only reigned for three years when, following the precedent of the first T'ang Emperor, he resigned in favour of his son. And so began in splendour the long reign of the poet Emperor, ending in civil war, defeat, and exile, a brief return, then abdication and oblivion. The first act of Ming-Huang's rule was in the direction of rigid economy of Court expenditure. During his reign he founded the famous Han-Lin Academy with its forty doctors, from whom were chosen the high officials of the State. He further divided the Empire into fifteen provinces, or three less than the present number. But his chief claim to a page of history lies in the direction of the spiritual expansion of his people in the quickening of their national life through the diversity of politics and commerce, literature and philosophy, music and painting. For thirty glorious years he kept the peace. They were China's greatest years, and she made the most of them. The forces of Confucianism and Taoism were equally balanced, and the Emperor paid homage to both. Confucianism found its outlet in statesmanship, Taoism in the arts of life; but the one led to the other, for the great statesmen of the period were also its greatest literary men. Such a thing as a professional writer was almost unknown. Li Po stands out as almost a solitary exception, too temperamental for office.

The outlook of the T'ang mind on art is intensely interesting. It was essentially the reward of leisure—a thing to be worked for and longed for and dreamed of, but only to be attained when the office is closed, the last audience given, and the last report despatched.

'At last,' sings Lin Chang—'at last comes rest from the routine, I launch my boat on the lilled pond and float till I drift without will into sleep. Green shadows lattice the waters green; courtyard and house the silence keep. Then a bird breaks over the mountain-side and falls and calls from the crimson coronals of the woods that awake to her cry. My silken robes in the wind float wide. O wings of delight, draw nigh! draw nigh!'

Chinese literature is full of poems of this nature expressing almost the rapture of a wild bird escaping from its cage. This is not to say that public affairs were neglected or scamped for the joy of leisure. Many of China's most famous poets like Han Yu and Po Chu-i were successful administrators and obtained promotion for the sheer merit of their public work. The secret of this remarkable duality in life is revealed by Chuang Tzū:

'Outwardly you may adapt yourself, but inwardly you must keep up to your own standard. In this there are two points to be guarded against. You must not let the outward adaptation manifest itself within, or the inward without. In the former case you will fall, you will be obliterated, you will collapse, you will lie prostrate. In the latter you will be a sound, a name, a bogie, an uncanny thing.'

Thus the outward Confucianist and the inward Taoist never clashed. And yet it is impossible for two people dwelling in the same tenement to be utterly without influence upon each other. They meet as it were day by day on the same threshold, one coming and one going. Neither breaks upon the other's work and therefore mutual respect is established. Atmosphere is more catching than scarlet fever. And so the Confucian widens his horizon and brings to public affairs a breadth of vision, a glimpse of ultimate purpose, and a sense of hidden beauty in the too familiar things of life, and works in harmony with his age. And the Taoist, no longer a solitary student among his books, or anchorite of the wooded hills and mountain torrents, goes to school with all men and learns the meaning of fellowship and communion with Tao through them.

The goal of every brilliant and ambitious student in the T'ang and every other dynasty was the Civil Service.

And as education alone was the key to power and advancement and not family influence, as is so often the case with us, it may be seen that the position of teacher was one of great importance and honour. Unfortunately, however, education lay entirely in the hands of the ultra-Confucian party, and in its higher branch consisted of knowledge attained from the Confucian classics with some practice in the art of essay writing and calligraphy. So jealous were the Confucians of their prerogative that an unorthodox essay or any free interpretation of the spirit of Confucius would instantly disqualify the candidate. But in the very completeness of the victory of the Confucian literates, says Mr Clennell,

'lay concealed the seeds of weakness and decay. The scheme of education favoured by the latter scholasticism was . . . even from the first narrower, relatively to the needs and knowledge of the time, than that which the old classical age had known. In the Confucian books music, horsemanship, chariot-driving, and archery figure as an important part of the equipment of a gentleman. To the later scholar everything was sacrificed to the knowledge of books, and except that some history and kindred studies entered into the curriculum, the books were exclusively those dealing with canonical learning. Even history often seemed to close—to cease at any rate to be important or interesting, with the Han dynasty and the recovery of the Confucian classics. It was . . . classicalism run mad, a phenomenon, after all not wholly unknown to our schools and universities.'

The Classics referred to by Mr Clennell are five in number, The Shu King, or Book of History; The I. King, or Book of Changes; the Shi King, or Book of Poetry; The Li Chi, or Book of Rites; The Ch'un Ch'iu, or Spring and Autumn Annals of Lu (the native State of Confucius). It is a compendium of history, divination, ballad literature, conduct and ceremonialism, and provincial Record which would correspond in an English curriculum to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; the Magical Writings of Thomas Vaughan; Percy's Reliques and the formal odes of Court Laureates on appropriate occasions; Day's 'Sandford and Merton' combined with Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son; and lastly, Morant's 'History of Essex.' Imagine these to have been the sole tests of scholarship from 635 to 1905 A.D. in England,

and you will get some idea of Chinese education up to the establishment of the republic.

Next to the Civil Service ranked agriculture and the military profession. T'ai Tsung founded a military Academy for the latter, where the art of war, the principles of which were laid down by Sun Tzu, 600 B.C., was taught. As to agriculture, the Chinese have been a nation of farmers from the earliest times. In the Spring equinox the Emperor himself, attended by his great officials, followed the plough. The odes of Confucius give us wonderful little pictures of a farmer's life with its tireless industry and jolly breaks of feasting and revelry, a spirit not far removed from that of Merrie England in the Middle Ages. And throughout their history, Chinese poets have written in praise of a country life with its ever-varying interests, so different from the monotony of official routine. How much they loved their farms and understood the beauty of the homestead and its surroundings may be gathered from the following impression by Wen T'ung:

'Now pale flocks glimmer as they wind along; into the deep ravine the herd goes down; the cold dumb pool awaits the nightly throng of wild geese wailing through the twilight brown. With jars of new-made wine old farmer Wang gladdens the neighbours. Gloomy faces shine and dark robes kindle to the flush of wine.'

Yet there is another side to the country picture so Dutch in its feeling for quiet ordered landscape and homely interiors. The call of the Capital to the writer, the artist, the teacher was as insistent to them in the days of Ming-Huang as it is to us. A very little exile was sufficient for Li Po. Nature overwhelmed him with her sadness. He saw the passing of all things, and contrasted the alternations of day and night and of the four seasons with the life of man, for whom there is no return of Spring.

'Dawn reddens in the wake of night; but the days of our life return not. The eye contains a far horizon but the wound of Spring lies deep in the heart.'

So he longs for a return to the Capital to forget among his contemporaries, his fellow-artists, the inevitable harvesting of humanity.

'O, Poet! turn thee to the Capital—to the men who shall make thee forget. Surely the earth—sorrow for the passing of Spring from her quiet places is overwhelming.'

After all Chang-an, the Garden City, with its triple walls, their tall towers uprising at intervals; its seven royal palaces all girdled with gardens; its public parks and pleasure-grounds and museums; its wonderful Yen tower nine stories high encased in marble; its drum towers and bell towers; its canals and lakes with their floating theatres; and, over all, the sheen and glitter of blue tiles, was earthly Paradise and Mecca to artist and scholar alike. It haunted all who left it with its appeal of beauty in architecture, gem-like buildings set in green girdles, its coming and going of strange Embassies, the gorgeous cavalcade of Imperial hunting parties, the joyous, careless crowds drifting to the flower fair and the glimpse of familiar faces, members of the guild of good-fellowship, whose initiation test was a song, whose entrance-fee was a cup of wine. No wonder if Tu Fu, an exile in far Szech'uan to the south, dreams and finds all beauty of colour and the play of butterflies, and the rapture of swallows breasting to the shore, calling him back to the beloved Capital.

'And I that scan the distant view of torn white clouds and mountains blue lift to the north my aching eyes; 'Tis there—'tis there the city lies! Chang-an, arise! arise!'

Butterflies and swallows, poets and dreams!—herein lies the weakness of the new impetus given by the poet Emperor. He divided Taoism from Confucianism, theory from practice, and sailed on the crest of the former into the backwaters of romance. Unfortunately, he was Emperor, and his Court and people followed him. Confucianism left to itself narrowed, as it always did, into mere officialism, and, after thirty cloudless years, the storm broke suddenly about him. His love for the beautiful T'ai Che'n, whom he made his Empress, led China to the brink of ruin. The Imperial economist turned spendthrift for her sake. Provinces and dependencies were ransacked for every imaginable delicacy, and Cloud Pavilions rose in a single night for her indulgence. Sings Li Po, Master of the Revels—

'Tis the time of glancing wings and the dancing of moon-moths whirling the hours away; When the golden armoured guardians are withdrawn, and pleasure haunts the rustling woods till Dawn.'

She rubbed the lamp of Aladdin so often that at last the dusky jinn revolted and inspired the great Turkic general, An Lu Shan, with ambition and unhallowed love for his Empress. So An Lu Shan marches on the Capital, and General Ko, with 70,000 men, or perhaps 70,000 butterflies, goes down before him, and the Emperor with a broken remnant flees into the province of Ssech'uan. Here even the loyal few mutiny: 'Give us the head of this woman who has been the cause of all our misfortunes and we will turn on the enemy!' Ultimately Ming-Huang, to save the Empire and dynasty, consents, and history glows with drama where 'She of the dark Moth eyebrows, lily pale, shines through tall avenues of spears to die.'

The rest is flight further and further Westward and long years of exile. The final triumph of his son, Su Tsung, and his grandson, Tai Tsung, brings the strange and pathetic figure of an old and broken man back to his ruined Capital only to say farewell to this and this remembered haunt before he set sail for the spirit Islands of the Blest, 'Where gaily coloured towers rise up like rainbow clouds and many gentle and beautiful Immortals pass their days in peace.'

The rest of the thirteen successors of Su Tsung need not detain us, for, as Mr Li Ung Bing points out, they were, with few exceptions, mere palace debauchees, or puppets in the hands of their eunuchs. The stream of Taoism broke into many rivulets. Here literature, there art or mythology, wandered and watered a lonely countryside. But the main channel, such as it was, became silted with superstition and the emptyings from the crucibles of the alchemists. Emperors lost their lives through drinking the elixir of immortality, or their thrones through the fatal misinterpretation of Lao Tzü's doctrine of weakness and Yang Chu's gospel of sensuality.

'Trains of misfortune,' writes Mr Bing in his masterly summing up of the T'ang, 'rolled over the dynasty and the

reigns of the few energetic rulers notably Hsien Tsung (805-820) and Hsuan Tsung (847-859) may be likened to the sunset views on the Western horizon. They are beautiful but of brief duration and soon to be rapidly buried under the darkness of night. The troubles that now came thick to hasten the downfall of the house of T'ang may be summarised under three headings, viz.: the rise of the border tribes, the insubordination of the governors, and the power of the eunuchs.'

907 A.D. saw the pitiful end of it, the drifting out of a great dynasty, when a boy of sixteen surrendered the seal of Empire to a semi-barbarian general and set out on the long journey to Shantung, from which there was no return.

To say that the lessons of history differ according to nations and times and circumstances is merely to utter a truism. Yet there is one lesson which may be learnt from all the histories of the East and all periods, one inevitable cause of weakness and ultimate disaster. It lies in the outlook of the oriental on his women. The denial of a human soul, the withholding of all freedom of movement and action and choice, the treatment of woman as a plaything, a human butterfly, an instrument of passion, or a mere domestic slave, is responsible time after time for the downfall of Empire and dynasty. When Mr Li Ung Bing speaks of the power of the eunuchs he is paying tribute to the harem system with its atmosphere of secrecy and intrigue, the inevitable result of all human oppression whether by law or immemorial custom. The influence of women upon Chinese politics was sinister because the attitude of man towards woman was sinister. And so whenever the throne of China was filled by a woman the Ministers of State became the ministers of her passions and pleasures and extravagances. Alone among the fatal women of the East who brought dishonour and ruin to the Empires they misgoverned, the Empress Wu kept politics and pleasures apart. That is why the story of her long, and in many ways successful, reign is of exceptional interest to the historian. Confucius ignored women as he ignored Heaven. Both appeared to be beyond his understanding, and, therefore, he left them wisely alone. Only here and there do we get any indication of a

cautious masculine mind on subjects he knew little about. 'Girls and servants,' said Confucius, 'are the most difficult people to handle. If you treat them familiarly they become disrespectful; if you keep them at a distance they resent it.'

In Taoism we get but little, and that mostly in terms of Philosophy. For Taoism was above all the philosophy of world-music, the harmony of all things in Tao, and for Chuang Tzŭ the harmony of human life was produced by the blending of the female and male principles, the Yin and the Yang. One of the grandest passages in Chinese literature is the yellow Emperor's description in the book of Chuang Tzŭ of his playing a piece of music called Han-Ch'ih.

'When I played again, it was the harmony of the Yin and Yang, lighted by the glory of sun and moon; now broken, now prolonged, now gentle, now severe, in one unbroken unfathomable volume of sound. Filling valley and gorge, stopping the ears and dominating the senses, adapting itself to the capacities of things—the sound whirled around on all sides, pure and clear. The spirits of darkness kept their domain. Sun, Moon, and stars pursued their appointed course.'

Such was the harmony of T'ai Tsung, one of the noblest characters of Chinese history, and his queen Sin Hwei, whom he married at the age of twenty and worshipped all his life. Her last words to her husband are memorable and in keeping with the simplicity of her character.

'I have not been of much use while I lived, and therefore I don't want any one to be made to suffer by my death. Build no magnificent grave for me and then the people will not hate me, since they have not been called upon to make any sacrifice in building it. Neither put any jewels and precious stones in my coffin. All that I want is a tile under my head for a pillow, and my hair fastened up with some wooden pins.'

The Empire of Sin-Hwei lay beyond her time, as it lies beyond ours. It is the heritage of the humble that is building stone by stone for the future of the race.

L. CRANMER BYNG.

Art. 7.—'MOVIES' AND MORALS.

THE enormous growth of the cinema in recent years has raised many problems for the moralist and the psychologist. In 1917 some of these problems were patiently investigated by a Commission of Inquiry set up by the National Council of Public Morals, and the results of the investigation were published as a detailed report under the title of 'The Cinema: its Present Position and Future Possibilities.' This volume attracted much attention at the time; it is still the most valuable source of information on an increasingly important subject. This year it has been supplemented by a further report on 'The Cinema in Education,' edited by Sir James Marchant, and embodying the conclusions of two sub-committees appointed by the original Commission of Inquiry for research into the methods and results of film education. Elaborate experiments have been conducted with children of both sexes, and the results have been carefully collated. The parent Commission in 1917 did not find itself able, in the absence of sufficient evidence, to arrive at an 'authoritative solution' of the problems raised by the educational possibilities of the film. We fear that the ordinary reader will not find that this 'authoritative solution' has been achieved even by the further scientific labours of the sub-committees. The elaborate tables and analyses will no doubt be highly instructive to educational psychologists; but we search in vain for any general conclusion beyond this, that appropriate films on a necessarily limited number of subjects, constructed with an expert understanding not only of elementary natural science but of the child mind, may be an instructive accessory to elementary education.

This aspect of the cinema is of slight importance beside the wider question of its general influence on the public mind and morals. The popularity of this kind of entertainment has now transcended anything which has before existed. It is estimated that in the British Isles there are about 20 million attendances at cinemas per week, or well over a billion per year. We have about 4000 picture theatres. Probably 80,000 persons are engaged in various branches of the trade. Gross

takings in 1917 were estimated at 20 millions sterling per annum, and are now estimated at not less than 30 millions. The Exchequer profits by some 3 millions per annum in entertainment tax. There are some 25,000 boxes of films travelling about the country on railways at any one time. Figures compiled in various representative districts seem to show that the very great majority of elementary schoolboys 'go to the pictures' at least once a week, and 40 per cent. go twice a week. Though the amusement, compared with others, is extremely cheap, it is not merely a poor man's relaxation, but is popular with all classes of the community.

Technique in all its branches has reached an extraordinary degree of proficiency, and the patron gets astonishing value for his money. The public, especially the American public, becomes exacting in proportion as it is pampered, and the three or four great producing corporations in the United States wage a war of competition which, the more furious it becomes, involves an increasingly reckless expenditure of money. 50,000*l.* is no uncommon sum to be spent on the construction of a single picture. At the present time the competition is so intense that the 'octopus' firms are frantically buying up theatres all over the United States in order to find an outlet for their films. The exhibitors are threatened with extinction, and have recently combined to resist the depredations of the great producers. The issue of the battle is still extremely uncertain.

In the view of most intelligent persons, the 'artistic' content of the great majority of films reaches the nadir of puerility. Yet few would be so severe as to condemn the whole institution on that account alone. Whether artistic content and moral content are necessarily interdependent—whether bad art eventually means bad morality—is too old and too controversial a problem of æsthetics for present discussion. But of overt immorality at least, in the ordinary sense of that term, the cinema may be acquitted. Openly indecent films are practically unknown in the English-speaking countries, and by universal admission would not be tolerated either by public or by producers here.

Yet the moral dangers of the film are so obvious that some kind of control is plainly necessary. In this

country the actual legal control is remarkably slight. The subject is governed by two Acts of 1909 and 1922, and by Statutory Rules and Orders issued by the Home Office under these Acts. The policy of this legislation is almost entirely confined to public safety and the prevention of fires. No public exhibition of *inflammable films* can take place without a licence granted by the local authority—the county council or its delegate, e.g. committee, district council, or justices in petty sessions; and the local authority may attach to the issue of the licence such terms and conditions as it thinks fit. After the passing of the 1909 Act, it was thought that the 'terms and conditions' imposed by local authorities must be confined to provisions for public safety, since that was the tenor of the principal Act; but this view was rejected by the High Court in 1911.* Conditions of a much more general character are now commonly imposed, e.g. rules as to hours of performance, and opening on Sundays; but they are limited to what the High Court on appeal may consider fair and reasonable. For example, conditions restricting the admission of children after certain hours or under a certain age have been held *ultra vires* and void;† and a blow has been dealt at the censorship by a recent decision declaring unreasonable a local regulation that no films should be exhibited except those which had been passed by the British Board of Film Censors.‡

The censorship itself is entirely unofficial. The trade as a whole has always been in favour of some control of this kind, but negotiations with the Home Office for an official censorship broke down in 1917. The present staff of examiners, therefore, have no legal status, and no exhibitor can be restricted to films which have been examined and passed. Nevertheless, the majority of the trade abide loyally by the unofficial censorship, and a very large proportion of films are examined before exhibition. After many difficulties and experiments, a code of censorial rules has been evolved, which cover all the more obviously objectionable elements of actual or suggestive indecency, cruelty, irreverence, the details of

* *L.C.C. v. Bermondsey Bioscope Co.* (1911) 1 K. B. 445.

† *Theatre de Luze (Halifax) v. Glodhill* (1915) 2 K. B. 49.

‡ *Ellis v. Dubowski* (1921) 3 K. B. 621.

crime, offensive personalities, disloyalty or sedition, and vice in its grosser forms. It may safely be said that a person of any age may go to the cinema without the risk of seeing any flagrant violation of the decencies of life.

Moral standards, however, may be corrupted not only by flagrant violations of decency, but by suggestions which are the more insidious because, while appearing innocuous in themselves, they fill the unreflective mind with false notions of life and conduct. The standard formulas of the films contain constantly recurring themes which cannot but affect the imagination prejudicially. One of the most persistent of these is physical violence. Exaggerated action is the inevitable method of *Mime*. Hamlet's injunction to 'use all gently' is impossible when the appeal is made solely to the eye. The modesty of nature is constantly, almost invariably overstepped. When men quarrel, they do not merely fling reproaches at each other, but instantly knock each other down. Horseplay of the wildest kind is the stock material of humour. The practical joke is the only kind of joke. At all costs the story must have pace, and any violent expedient is good enough to hurry it along. Lethal weapons crowd the screen, and in the midst of life every film actor is in death. Not only is the emphasis constantly laid on primitive emotions, but the camera is peculiarly adapted to emphasising even the emphasis. Painful scenes can be dwelt on by all kinds of mechanical devices, especially the 'close-up.' I recall one celebrated film in which a brutal ruffian, inflamed with drink and disappointment, comes home to 'take it out of' somebody—anybody. The particular object of his displeasure is the little foundling girl whom he has 'adopted.' The child, to escape his murderous wrath, locks herself in a room. We are then shown, on one side of the door, the child in the extremity of terror, and on the other side the ruffian in the ecstasy of rage: both passions portrayed with vivid, but sickening histrionic power. The child is dragged forth and thrashed to death, and we are treated to the whole edifying spectacle except the actual *coup de grace*. In justice to the patrons of the cinema, let it be said that a good many women in the audience covered their eyes. Anybody, man or woman, who kept them

open can only have done so from instincts which are animal and disgusting. This is perhaps an extreme example: yet the film in question had a high reputation and an enormous popularity.

Another aspect of the same ingredient is the absence of all the ordinary restraints of life. I do not mean the more obvious restraints of morality and decency, but the tendency to meet all situations and solve all difficulties by ignoring prudential restraints and taking the easiest available course. The man who is angry, strikes. The man, or more often the woman, who is tempted, succumbs with scarcely a struggle; probably he or she is redeemed afterwards with miraculous facility; but the descent to Avernus becomes a kind of helter-skelter. The man who is impeded in the pursuit of an objective—generally either riches or a woman—immediately sets about removing the impediment by any desperate means in his power. The man who is in a difficulty unhesitatingly finds 'the way out' in the revolver or the poisoned chalice. In the consequences of this violent conduct, the logic of real life is persistently ignored. There is no need to dwell on the outrageous unreality, improbability, and sentimentality of the average film story. They can scarcely be exaggerated. In the film world, the wildest and weakest wickedness can always be undone, not by expiation, but by a hasty *dénoûment* of tearful repentance in the last hundred feet or so of the reel. This mechanical absolution and remission of sin makes sin itself a mere incident without moral significance.

The romance of lawlessness is a very favourite theme, particularly popular, as might be expected, among boys. It is true enough that the screen and the stage never present crime as admirable in itself. But the criminal is shown as a clever, daring adventurer commanding all the sympathy which we instinctively feel for the person who is playing a losing game against heavy odds. Sherlock Holmes ought to win; it is expected of him to win; but Professor Moriarty—what a gallant gamester! And the crook often has the dangerous habit of possessing personal charm. The devil is a gentleman. Your film criminal is often a 'good fellow at heart,' capable of pretty gestures of generosity and self-sacrifice, forced into crime by accidental circumstances or a fit of pardonable

petulance. Not infrequently he undergoes a lightning reformation and lives happily ever afterwards. Here again we forsake the logic of life. Arch-criminals with hearts of gold are not, we believe, common in the annals of Scotland Yard.

Revenge is another standard ingredient of the film-drama. The danger of this theme is that revenge, being, as Bacon called it, 'a kind of wild justice,' carries in itself a specious extenuation. Reason condemns it, and human frailty condones it. On the screen, it covers a multitude of sins; it is scarcely ever questioned that vindictive retribution is the natural and pardonable answer to provocation. Vengeance is mine, saith the scenario-writer. It is true that the avenger rarely carries retaliation to a naked conclusion. Generally, when within reach of his savage desire, he is converted to a spectacular magnanimity through the opportune intervention of a Pure Woman or a Little Child. But this hardly counteracts the effect upon impressionable minds of the reiteration of this primitive incentive to hatred and violence.

Other undesirable elements in the strange world of the cinema need but a passing glance, for they are very familiar to anybody acquainted with the ordinary film programme. The everlasting representation of luxury in its most vulgar and ostentatious forms holds up the dollar to millions of simple minds as the only standard of success and happiness. Is it any wonder if the resentment of the 'have-nots' against the 'haves' becomes daily more bitter? Whether the feeling aroused among the 'have-nots' be unhealthy covetousness or healthy reprobation, the peace of society is equally prejudiced. Again, the course of justice is frequently travestied as a display of freakish, undignified, and shallow sentiment; and though this view may be sufficiently true to life in a country where the 'unwritten law' still commands respect, and where courts of justice seem to be primarily regarded as places of entertainment, it is profoundly distasteful to our more prosaic view of the law and its function in society. Finally, although, as has been said, open indecency does not exist on the films, the less edifying aspects of sex are hinted at with damnable iteration. A glance at the titles of any miscellaneous assortment of films, or at the posters which advertise

them, will show that sexual unrestraint is a perennial theme: though it must be admitted that the titles and the advertisements are often, and doubtless deliberately, designed to hold out more promise in this kind than the story itself fulfils. Conjugal unfaithfulness, and the temptation of the poor and virtuous by the wealthy and vicious, are indispensable to the scenario-writer; and he frequently deals in that peculiarly detestable situation in which a woman is presented with the choice between 'her honour' and some grisly alternative. Repeatedly, especially in the smaller and cheaper houses, one has seen this situation carried to the furthest point short of actual indecent violence. The timely intervention of the 'black out' merely adds to the morbid suggestiveness of such episodes.

These elements are perhaps common to crude melodrama all the world over; but they have been brought to an unparalleled pitch of intensity by the peculiar genius of the American temperament for melodrama and for all those aspects of public and private life for which the generic term Vulgarity is miserably inadequate. American 'civilisation' may have all the merits it claims for itself with such complacency: if so, they are more real than apparent, and the obstinate Old World would be well content that they, with their complementary demerits, should remain strictly and for ever in the country where they are most admired. They are, however, rapidly and aggressively commending themselves to the whole world, and they have no more effective medium of propaganda than the cinema. With our usual obliging inertia, we have allowed this process to go on for years without resistance; but quite recently, and probably too late, the public and the Government have awakened to the fact that it has gone on long enough.

In 1914 it was estimated that of the films exhibited in this country about 25 per cent. were British. In 1923 the percentage had dropped to 10; at the present time it is negligible—probably not more than 1 per cent. As recently as 1923 there were twenty firms producing films in England; to-day there are four or five. The collapse has been swift and complete, and at present it is not open to doubt that the British film-producing industry

is in the last stages of debility. The position was bad enough in 1914; but during the war 'the Americans,' to quote Lord Newton in the House of Lords on May 14 last, 'realised almost instantaneously that the cinema was a heaven-sent method of advertising themselves, their country, their methods, their wares, their ideas, and even their language, and they had seized on it as a method of persuading the whole world that America was really the only country that counted.'

There are some 20,000 picture theatres in the United States. The industry has now reached such proportions that it is commonly reckoned the fourth in importance in the whole country. The competition is feverish, the propaganda indefatigable, the ingenuity of publicity inexhaustible. We even read that a New York producer has offered an annual endowment of 1000*l.* for a Chair of 'Cinema Research' at one of the eight leading American Universities, 'whichever first accepts the offer.' The munificent benefactor points to one of the inevitable results of frantic competition when he says that 'he has long felt that the industry has been paying to mediocrity prices worthy of genius.'* Another result no less inevitable is enormous over-production. Many films are manufactured at great expense which are so bad that they are never 'released' at all; and many are put upon the market which are known by all concerned to be of inferior quality and for all practical purposes failures. In order to secure a market for these second-rate goods, the American producers have invented the 'block-booking' system. This means that the exhibitor engages to take, for long periods ahead, a 'block' of films, the bad with the good, the rough with the smooth; otherwise he will get none at all. Very many of these films are booked before they have been seen, and many even before they have been manufactured. At the time of writing this, British exhibitors are attempting to combine in order to break this pernicious system,† with what prospects of success we do not know. In the film world the maxim is that the drama's laws the drama's manufacturers give.‡

* Mr R. T. Kane, as reported in 'The Times' of Aug. 26, 1925.

† See 'The Times' of Aug. 25, 1925.

‡ Mr Robert Nichols, in his articles on 'The Future of the Cinema,' in

The American supremacy does not seem to rest on any unchallengeable superiority in technical efficiency or natural talent. Many of the leading actors, directors, and scenario-writers of American firms are British, though they are attracted to Hollywood and New York by the extravagant prices they can there command. There are extremely well-equipped studios in England, and since a very great deal of film-photography is done by artificial light, the climate of California is not so great an advantage to producers as is commonly supposed. Nevertheless, we have been completely supine before the prodigious advances of the American trade. In Germany, stubborn resistance has been made by the so-called 'Kontingent' system, under which the distributor must acquire at least one native-made film for every foreign film imported. In France, neither American films nor American methods of publicity commend themselves to public taste, and California commands a market only because there are not enough French films to supply the demand.* But that market is not large enough for the great American corporations, and they are now conducting a strenuous campaign in Paris to buy important theatres, equip them, regardless of expense, with dazzling luxury, and thus gently mould the *esprit gaulois* to the beauties of transatlantic thought and imagination. Unless we have completely misread the *esprit gaulois* in history, the attempt, however grandly conceived, may meet with unsuspected difficulties.

In England, our attitude towards this industry has been highly characteristic. We have realised that it was dying after it was dead. In 1922 and 1923 some hesitating efforts were made to call attention to the danger, but they met with little response. In 1924, when

* The Times' of Aug. 27, 1925, and following days, emphasises the fact that it is the 'hicks,' or agricultural population—notoriously the most backward intellectually in the United States—whose tastes are chiefly studied by American producers, and who thus set the standard for the English-speaking world. The same writer calls attention to the deplorably low standard of intelligence found among professional scenario-writers and film critics.

* The cinema has nothing like so large a public in France as in England: there are only about 1500 picture theatres, as compared with our 4000. The luxury of the British and American picture 'palace' is almost unknown in France.

things were rapidly becoming desperate, the British National Film League repeatedly endeavoured to attract the attention of the Prime Minister. But the Socialist Government had its mind on higher things. It showed its appreciation of the position by abolishing in August 1924 even the slight protection given to the British producer by the McKenna duties—not that this made much difference, the McKenna duties having completely failed of their effect because the enormous profits which American producers could make in this country rendered them insignificant. On Feb. 10, 1925, public attention was called to the situation, now become almost hopeless, by the Film Correspondent of 'The Morning Post' in the first of a series of admirable articles to which I desire to make the fullest acknowledgments. Following 'The Morning Post's' suggestion, Lord Newton on April 30 in the House of Lords asked for a Departmental Committee to inquire into the position of the industry, and received an evasive reply from the Government. Lord Newton made a further motion on May 14, and Lord Peel, replying for the Government, fully admitted, indeed emphasised, the gravity of the situation, but was again somewhat indefinite as to ways and means. A Committee was asked for on June 24 in the House of Commons by two members, and the matter again put off *sine die*; but on June 29 the Prime Minister definitely promised an official inquiry. The Federation of British Industries, on behalf of a number of important representative bodies interested in the question, has now presented to the Government a memorandum setting forth the main factors in the situation and suggesting certain possible remedies.* These remedies it would be outside our scope to discuss, especially as it is not known at the date of writing which remedy, if any, the Government is likely to favour. But it may be predicted with reasonable certainty that anything in the nature of a direct subsidy is improbable, and that if any determined move is made, it will be on the lines of consolidating financial resources in this country and carrying the war into the enemy's camp by attempting serious competition with American producers in the American market.

* Published in 'The Kinematograph Weekly' of Aug. 6, 1925.

Whether any remedy is not now too late may well be doubted.

One of the points rightly emphasised by the memorandum above referred to is the very serious imperial aspect of this British commercial defeat. American supremacy is even more complete in the Dominions than in the British Isles. In Australia, for example, practically nothing but American films is shown. It was only with the greatest difficulty that films depicting British feats of arms, such as 'Jutland' and 'Armageddon,' could be shown in that country, so fully were the picture theatres booked up with American films. Not a few of the pictures dealing with American history are offensively anti-British in sentiment, and events of the recent war are sometimes distorted, to the greater glory of America's military and naval prowess, in a manner which would be monstrous if it were not childish.

American influence in Australia, in habits, ideas, and even language, is noticeably growing. If this is the effect on a people with as much independence of mind as the Australians, what must be the effect on native races in the East? All the refinements of American 'civilisation,' all the choice flowers of American culture, speech, and morality, are constantly forced on the receptive native mind, and British ways of thought, not to mention British industry and commerce, cannot but seem insipid before these flamboyant products of hustling modernity. Mr Ramsay MacDonald is reported to have said* that it would take fifty years of good government to undo the harm done by ten films in misrepresenting the Englishman on foreign screens. It has even been stated† that in the Midlands and Yorkshire manufacturers of clothing and boots have been obliged to alter their plant because the films seen by the races in the Near East have so impressed those peoples that they desire to be clothed in the same way as American film actors. What do they know of England who only America know?

Doubtless, as I have said, the objections urged against the American-controlled cinema are applicable in

* 'The Morning Post,' Feb. 10, 1925.

† By Lord Newton in the House of Lords, but not vouched for.

some degree to any form of crude, melodramatic art, and in particular to the old-fashioned sanguinary melodrama of the stage* and the sensational literature beloved of boys and kitchen-maids. It is often said that this world of garish imagination is so essentially apart from actual existence that it has no appreciable effect on conduct. Certainly the danger must not be exaggerated, for it would be absurd to suppose that every influence on the imagination is necessarily reproduced in conduct, that every boy who steals a fearful joy from the literature of piracy is a Blackbeard in the making. But it is equally absurd to suppose that one can constantly steep oneself in an imaginary world without being influenced in ideas and moral values. The analogy with other forms of sensational fiction will not carry us very far. To begin with, it may be doubted whether either the old-fashioned melodrama or the 'penny dreadful' ever went to the same extremes of unrestraint as the picture-drama. Violent things constantly done and accentuated on the films would become merely laughable on the stage or in print; for when action is accompanied by words, a greater restraint is necessary to prevent tragedy turning into farce. Again, very few persons indeed, before the invention of the films, saw a blood-and-thunder play as often as once a week; and very few boys, we believe, read three, two, or even one 'Deadwood Dick' novel per week. If they did so, most people, not necessarily purists, would agree that it would be extremely bad for them. Nobody wishes to deny the pleasures of imagination to the many who are compelled to live lives of drab reality; but to exist perpetually in a state of imaginative intoxication can lead to nothing but moral delirium tremens. All in due proportion; and the influence of film ideas and film conduct is entirely disproportionate in millions of minds. The country which, as I have shown above, now despotically dictates the manners and morals of the cinema, has recently provided us with an example of the disastrous effect upon the youthful mind of living persistently in the realm of criminal imagination. It is only a year since

* Now almost completely ousted by the film. Recently the provincial music-hall has also suffered severely.

the sons, aged eighteen and nineteen, of two Chicago millionaires, unsatisfied by the pleasures of minor crime, and coqueting constantly with the captivating idea of bloodshed, committed an incredibly callous murder upon a little boy aged fourteen, also the son of a millionaire. Round the crime was built an elaborate structure of lurid detail peculiar to sensational fiction. There was no motive except the morbid desire for illicit thrills and the passion of the stronger of the two degenerates to be the 'master-criminal.' After a trial which we hope, for the credit of English-speaking races, will never be excelled as a caricature of justice, they were rescued from the gallows by the ingenious doctrines of psychoanalysis. In all the fantastic farrago produced as 'evidence' of moral abnormality and legal insanity, there is nothing to show that these infant assassins were directly influenced by the film; but there are abundant indications of a perpetual brooding on and living in just that world which is the peculiar province of the film and analogous forms of sensational fiction. The healthy youngster immortally typified by Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer may pay flying visits to that world and take no particular harm from it; but its influence upon the more 'civilised' modern youth of cities like Chicago is so incessant and so insidious that it may easily become more real than the real world.*

Among the many unpalatable features of this case, perhaps none is more distressing to a sane mind than the fact that the whole trial was evidently regarded by the American public as a fascinating entertainment. The same temper becomes increasingly apparent in this country. It is, in the nature of the case, difficult to establish any direct connexion between the cinema and specific crimes; but it cannot escape the attention of anybody who reads the newspapers that 'sensational' crimes, especially *crimes passionels*, are distressingly frequent, and, what is almost worse, that the interest shown by the public in sordid stories of violence, fraud, cupidity, and revenge is altogether abnormal. More than once recently judges have had to remind the public that they are not spectators of a film or a drama, but

* See 'The Crime and Trial of Leopold and Loeb,' by Maureen McKernan (Allen and Unwin).

of a solemn process of law. Certain weekly journals regale their readers with little else but crime, the more revolting the better 'copy.' The prisoner in the dock, and sometimes on the very scaffold, is suffused with rosy limelight, and not infrequently seems to enjoy the experience. It is difficult to resist the conviction that the indefatigable insistence of the film on violence and lack of moral restraint is in no small measure responsible for this attitude of mind. Imitative crime is one of the most difficult problems of penology, and its psychological aspects are extremely obscure; but that it exists there can be no doubt; and the impulse to imitation seems in many cases to be far stronger than the warning conveyed in the punishment of previous wrongdoers. It is idle to pretend that purely imaginary events repeatedly presented to the eye with great realistic force may not prompt to imitation as powerfully as events of actual life.

Last year there was committed at Eastbourne a murder horrible in its calculated ferocity and revolting in all its details. The murderer's account of the affair, given at his trial, is an instructive product of the imaginative criminal's mind. It is too long to be quoted here *in extenso*, but the following extracts may not be without interest:

"Miss K." (the victim) "sat down and wrote two letters. When she had finished, she looked up and said, 'Pat, I am determined to settle this matter one way or another to-night.' She tossed the two letters over and said, 'These letters and my actions mean that I have burned my boats. . . . For me there is no turning back. Cannot you realise, Pat, how much I love you, and that you are everything to me, and that I can never share you with another?' . . . Eventually she calmed down and wrote another letter, which she threw across the table and said, 'Sign that letter, Pat.'"

"He refused and told her "she could not expect him to give up all he held dear." . . . "I realised from her manner that a crisis was coming. She was distracted and overwrought."

"*The Judge*: This is a descriptive sort of narrative. We want to know what happened.

"Miss K. then threw an axe, and leapt across the room clutching at my face." There follows a graphic account of a struggle with a woman "almost mad with anger." The woman falls and strikes her head on a coal-scuttle. "She had

gripped me by the throat and I had gripped her by the throat. We were locked together. I think I must have fainted with the fear and shock. When I did become conscious of what had happened, Miss K. was lying by the coal-scuttle and blood had flowed from her head. I tried to rouse her, pinched her and called her by name, but she never moved or answered. I think I must have fainted again, or lay in a sort of stupor. I remember dashing water into her face. I must have gone half-mad. . . . It suddenly struck me what a fool I had been not to call for assistance, and it dawned on me what a horrible thing it was that she was lying there, and dead. The fact that she was dead flooded my mind."

'*The Judge*: You are asked what you did, not all this imagination. . . .

"I was in agony of fear of what might be the consequences. . . ."

'*The Judge*: I wish you would tell us what you did, and not so much of what was in your mind.'

Who can read this statement without hearing constant echoes of the *clichés* of film, melodrama, and sensational fiction?

This particular criminal was, it is stated, the hero of a youth who a short time ago emulated his exemplar in the following manner:

"We went to the — Cinema . . . returning by rail to West Kensington Station about 11 p.m. . . . I asked her" (a girl of sixteen) "if she was going to see me at Easter. . . . At first she said she would, but later she said she had too many engagements, and could not. I said, 'What, engagements with boys?' She said, 'You would not care if I did go with other boys.' I said to her, 'Yes, I would care,' and that I loved her. . . . I said, 'You are playing me about.' She laughed in my face. I said, 'Don't laugh like that, or I will do something desperate.' She said, 'You poor fool!' . . . I said, 'When are you going to meet me again?' She said, 'Tuesday week,' and again called me a poor fool. As we were kissing good-night I drew a razor out of my right-hand coat-pocket and pulled it across her throat."

'You poor fool!' Did the girl ever say it, or did the youth invent it *ex post facto*? Whether he did or not, it is not the language of real life: it is a caption from some American film.

It goes without saying that it is the adolescent mind

which needs most protection from the suggestive influences of the film. The realm of imagination is often more real to the child than the realm of fact, as anybody knows who has led an active life as a pirate or a Red Indian. What effect is produced on the boyhood and girlhood of the nation by being plunged once, twice, or thrice a week into the topsy-turvy moral world of the motion-picture?

Careful evidence on this point was taken by the Commission of Inquiry in 1917, and the conclusion reached was as follows :

'There was presented to us conflicting evidence — some asserting as emphatically as others denied any general connexion. Our conclusion is that such connexion does exist, though to a limited extent. It is not, however, a necessary connexion, and not exclusive of many other factors too often ignored, because less obvious to the untrained observer of social phenomena.'

Necessarily the evidence must be conflicting and inconclusive, for it must be largely matter of deduction. Yet certain magistrates hold very strong views on the evil effects of excessive addiction to the picture-palace.* It cannot be said, however, that juvenile crime appears to be on the increase at present—on the contrary, according to the most recent evidence, there is an appreciable diminution: for example, in 1924 there were only 10,000 convictions before Juvenile Courts as against 27,000 in 1917 and 1918. But there may be various causes for this result other than a change of heart among juvenile delinquents—e.g., the passing of the disturbed conditions of the war and new and different methods of dealing with offenders.† In any case, most people will consider 10,000 convictions a total substantial enough to raise grave problems.

The question has been examined with equal sanity and force by Prof. Cyril Burt in his brilliant and thorough study, recently published by the University of London Press, of 'The Young Delinquent.' Prof. Burt

* See, e.g., the observations of Sir Robert Wallace, K.C., Chairman of County of London Sessions, and evidence from New York Courts ('The Cinema,' pp. 151 ff. and App. II, p. 332).

† See 'Home Office, Third Report of the Work of the Children's Branch' (H.M.S.O., July 1925).

first warns us not to lose our sense of proportion by exaggerating the 'faculty of imitativeness' which 'renders the child peculiarly liable to copy whatever he witnesses upon the screen.' In his wide experience he has encountered only four or five authentic instances in which crime seemed to be directly inspired by the cinema. (As we have said, necessarily it is almost impossible to establish a direct connexion by positive evidence.) Prof. Burt is also sceptical about another charge frequently brought against the cinema—that it provides a standing temptation to steal money for admittance. (This is surely no charge at all; for on the same principle the sweet-shop, notoriously a still greater temptation, would stand utterly condemned.) But the main source of harm is expressed by Prof. Burt as follows:

'It is in the general and more elusive influences that the real danger of the cinema lies. Throughout the usual picture-palace programme, the moral atmosphere presented is an atmosphere of thoughtless frivolity and fun, relieved only by some sudden storm of passion with occasional splashes of sentiment. Deceit, flirtation, and jealousy, unscrupulous intrigue and reckless assault, a round of unceasing excitements and the extremes of wild emotionalism, are depicted as the normal characteristics of the everyday conduct of adults. The child, with no background of experience by which to correct the picture, frames a notion, altogether distorted, of social life and manners. . . . It is true that in most of the plays, the scoundrel is infallibly unmasked and eventually requited. But the hollow and factitious character of this pseudo-poetic justice seldom deludes the most youthful spectator. Simply to attach a negative to an impressive or alluring thought is not to arrest its tendency to action, except among persons supremely rational and self-controlled. Say to an enterprising but guileless child, "Thou shalt not gamble"; and the mental picture that becomes effective is the new idea of "gambling" conveyed as a temptation of fascinating danger, while the well-worn "not" remains the merest abstract particle which cannot even be visualised. Far better is it that notions and images of vice should never be placed before his eyes at all.

'But, quite apart from the definite presentation of wrongdoing, the social dramas and the pictures of high life, with a force as subtle as it is cumulative, stir the curiosity, heat the imagination, and work upon the fantasies, of boys and girls of every age. They provide models and material for all-

engrossing day-dreams; and create a yearning for a life of gaiety—a craze for fun, frolic, and adventure, for personal admiration and for extravagant self-display—to a degree that is usually unwholesome and almost invariably unwise. It is, most of all, in its treatment of the social relations between the opposite sexes that the effects of the film are most injurious. . . . In the moving picture, the intimate details of courtship, coquetry, and married life are given in ocular demonstration with far more vividness, particularity, and repetition than could possibly be provided in the printed book or on the stage. All who have worked with juvenile delinquents must have realised how stimulating such exhibitions are to the sexual instincts and interests, not only among adolescents, but also, prematurely and precociously, among quite young boys and girls. Nor are the ultimate effects confined to habits, thoughts, and vices of a specifically sexual character. Here, once more, direct and immediate imitation is the rarer outcome. More frequently there is, first of all, a furtive perplexity and mental conflict; then, an intolerance of the strain; and, finally, a burst of violence or adventure, which on the surface may have nothing whatever to do with sex, but is calculated to relieve the deeper tension, and to drown the hidden promptings, by some wave of desperation, more turbulent perhaps, but less ruinous and degrading.'

I have quoted this passage at length because it conveys in better words than I could command facts which, though they have a particular importance to the immature mind, are also true, I believe, of many adults. Imaginative relaxation is a vital necessity to all healthy human beings, and nobody would wish to rob the masses of one of their chief pleasures in life. Man cannot live by bread alone; but neither can he live for *panem et circenses* alone. The cinema has now become an integral, indispensable part of the lives of millions of English men, women, and children; let any intelligent observer judge for himself whether it has added anything valuable to our civilisation, or whether it might not have been better that it should have been submitted when it was first invented, along with the many other triumphs of mechanical ingenuity which now permeate every relationship of our lives, to a Board of Censors in Erewhon.

CARLETON KEMP ALLEN.

Art. 8.—THE TRUTH ABOUT MACPHERSON'S 'OSSIAN.'

Two things, or perhaps three, stand out in the mind of every person who has paid any attention to the celebrated controversy as to the authenticity of James Macpherson's 'Ossian.' The first is the shrewd and inflexible antagonism of Dr Johnson to his claim as a translator, an antagonism that really accounted for Johnson's journey to the Hebrides, a feat in travel—at the time—as well as a feat in literature. The second is the undying legend of Napoleon's carrying a copy of Macpherson's 'Ossian' with him in the wars—an excellent story, whether true or false. That a finely bound copy of the work was found in the Emperor's library after the fall is undoubted, and the curious in historical parallels may interest themselves in finding out how far Napoleon was inspired by the Gaelic myths in dealing with European affairs. The third point of interest is the remarkable 'Critical Dissertation' of Dr Hugh Blair, on which some of us were fed in younger days. This must stand as one of the most eloquent and convincing pronouncements on the wrong side of a case that can be found in English literary history. Blair was so proud of it, as of all the prominent part that he played in this Macpherson episode, that he declared to Burns that it was he who brought the poems of Ossian to the notice of the world. But after all that was said and done in the last century-and-a-half in this matter of James Macpherson and 'Ossian,' the most widespread uncertainty still exists, even among well-educated persons, as to how this singular business really stands.

To get a right understanding of the situation we must begin by remembering that in the middle of the 18th century, when James Macpherson began with his discoveries, literary ethics were not so strict as they are now, and that a writer might adapt, or transform, in a very generous way the work of an earlier writer and have his productions accepted as perfectly honest and meritorious. In certain ways that may be done even now, if it be managed with consummate care, the classical example in our time being, of course, the 'Omar' of Edward Fitzgerald. No doubt, Dr Johnson, with his sure and strong reason, and his knowledge of

human nature, had this circumstance in his mind when, in regard to both Chatterton and Macpherson, he opposed the claim of their works to authenticity. In the case of Chatterton the exposure was comparatively easy, and complete. But with regard to Macpherson the case was very different, particularly for the reason that Macpherson could always take refuge in the fastnesses of the Gaelic speech and Gaelic literary history, where even Johnson could not follow him, and so the remarkable 'Ossian' controversy was never really settled to a demonstration.

This leads to the further consideration that, living in the atmosphere of this literary practice, such as it was, James Macpherson may possibly have begun originally with a certain innocence; for having undoubtedly made investigations, and spent time and labour over the work, he may—to an extent—have convinced himself that he was really giving to the world something that was worth while, in a way that conveyed to readers the spirit, at least, of the plaintive and charming myths which lie at the back of the story of the Gaelic people. That, however, is about all that is to be said for James Macpherson, except, indeed, that the sentimental form in which he presented his translations in itself was a stroke of genius. With its emotional force the work immediately captured, and retained, the imagination of the public in a way that would have been a pure impossibility if put forward in a spirit of calm and cold scholarship, making appeal merely to the reason or the knowledge of the reader. Those who then read Macpherson's 'Ossian' carried away as vivid an idea of the valorous deeds of the Gael in pre-historic times as could be gathered from a poem, or a novel, and the conception of actual events would be just as well founded in the one case as in the other. Readers in Macpherson's time were, however, not aware of that, and, speaking generally, readers in the present day are not certain of it yet.

It is common literary knowledge that fragments of ancient Gaelic tales to some extent did exist in the Scottish Highlands; but to a far greater extent in Ireland—whence, we must remember, the Scottish Gaels, as well as their Gaelic speech, came to Scotland. Within the last three-quarters of a century a great mass of

these 'sgeulachdan'—fables or legends—have been brought to light, and much of the Ossianic legend, particularly as circulated in Ireland, is thoroughly good literary, traditional material, worthy of the careful treatment it has received from Celtic scholars, both Continental and British. This also must be said, that the genuine ancient Gaelic material, oral or written, is never of the complete, rounded, poetical, dazzling quality presented by James Macpherson in 'Fingal' (1762), or in 'Temora' (1763). These productions, over which fierce controversy arose, were not the work of a scholar, but of a brilliant writer, skilled in expression, and extraordinarily clever in producing the atmosphere and paraphernalia of ancient and, supposedly, heroic times in the form of complete, dramatic episodes. It answered the purpose of a novel before the novel had the power to make the universal, effective appeal developed in later days. It was, in a way, the poem of sentiment, presented in a complete and attractive guise, with a special charm of mystery as to all that lay behind it. For those works were presented in what might seem, at first view, the modest form of 'translations.'

Now, the strange thing in this Ossianic business, very little known, or remembered, is the fact that James Macpherson undoubtedly made a translation from Gaelic originals of the poems. Everybody knows that he was repeatedly challenged to produce the Gaelic originals which he declared he worked from; but it is generally forgotten that the challenge was accepted, and that Gaelic originals were produced. As a matter of fact, an advertisement appeared, in 1762, intimating that the original Gaelic manuscript of part of 'Temora' was lying in the hands of Macpherson's publishers in London for the inspection of all who were interested, and that if a sufficient number of subscribers came forward the Gaelic originals would be printed. The manuscript remained there available, actually, for a whole year. We know now, on the authority of one of the publishers, that nobody, friend or foe, took the trouble to call. The manuscript was ultimately withdrawn, and the projected publication of the Gaelic manuscript came, at that time, to nothing.

The crucial question then is—what were these Gaelic

originals? Although the manuscripts from which Macpherson translated the poems were all either in his own handwriting or in that of amanuenses, they were not the composition of Macpherson, for it is well enough known, as it was in his lifetime, that he had not the competence in Gaelic for anything of the kind. Those 'originals' were really the spurious material in this business. It was from them that he made what is often a poor translation, although it was a close translation on the whole, and if a right view of the situation is to be obtained attention must be directed specially to the personages and circumstances under which these Gaelic 'originals' came into being, and also the use that James Macpherson made of them.

With regard to the personages and the circumstances, a clear view of what took place is helpful. It will be remembered that when Macpherson, in 1759—in response to urgent request—showed to Dr Hugh Blair some alleged translations of fragments of ancient Gaelic poetry, and was urged by him to translate all that he had in order that they might be printed, Macpherson—and it may be a point in his favour—only with great reluctance, consented. Why he was reluctant can never be known; but taking the reluctance as real—and there is no reason to suppose otherwise—it indicates that he shrank, and very properly shrank, from taking a step so public that, if his pretensions so far merely amounted to little more than personal literary vanity, the publication of a book meant nothing less than an imposture on the world. He yielded, however, to persuasion, and the result was the publication, in 1760, by Hamilton and Balfour of Edinburgh, of his 'Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Gallic or Erse Language.'

In the intense interest aroused by the later publication of 'Fingal' and 'Temora,' this volume of 'Fragments' has received less attention than is its due; but it is characteristic of James Macpherson to a remarkable degree, and shows clearly three things. In the first place, it demonstrates that the scheme of a large 'discovery' was already taking shape in Macpherson's mind, for in the preface to the 'Fragments' he states that there was ground for believing that most of the frag-

ments were episodes of a greater work which related to the wars of Fingal; that there was ground for believing, also, that many more remains of ancient Gaelic genius might be found in the Highlands where these were collected, and in particular, he stated, there was reason to hope that one considerable heroic poem might be recovered and translated 'if encouragement were given to such an undertaking.' And he goes on to represent, actually, the substance of the prospective poem. The second thing observable about the 'Fragments' is that the characters who appear in them reappear in the later productions—not a remarkable thing if the originals were genuine; but very significant if the originals were false. Thus, the personage Shilric in the 'Fragments' reappears in 'Carrie-Thura'; Vinella reappears in the same; Connal appears again in both 'Fingal' and 'Carrie-Thura,' while Ryno does so in 'Fingal,' 'Temora,' 'Songs of Selma,' and so on. The third thing to be noted is that the paraphernalia of the 'Fragments' is precisely of the same quality, though presented in slightly different form, as that of the later productions. The bard sits by mossy fountains, evening is grey on the hills, or grey mist rests on them, the sun going down is the 'beam of the west,' and the angry Morar is 'terrible as a meteor of fire.' Any one well versed in 'Ossian' will remember how often the idea is expressed of the pre-historic grave as a mound of stones in the moor, and the future hunter shedding a tear on the stones. Says the bard in the 'Fragments,' 'If fall I must in the field, raise high my grave, Vinvela. Grey stones, and heaped-up earth, shall mark me to future times. When the hunter shall sit by the mound, and produce his food at noon, "some warrior rests here," he will say, and my fame shall live in his praise.' Again, let it be said, that all this would not be remarkable if Macpherson's claim for the genuineness of the originals were justified; but if the originals were not genuine these things show the imposture to have been deliberate and gross.

Now, to look at the personages who were concerned with Macpherson in the discovery of the poems. After the publication of the 'Fragments,' in 1760, came the celebrated dinner in Edinburgh, and the commission to Macpherson to proceed on tour through the Highlands

and Western Islands for the purpose of collecting all the ancient Gaelic poetry that could be found; his expenses to be paid by public subscription from the notabilities at the dinner, and others.

Two journeys into the Highlands and the Islands took place; but Macpherson did not go alone. Readers of Mrs Grant, of Laggan, will remember that in her delightful 'Letters from the Mountains' she describes intimately not only the pathetic close of James Macpherson's life at Belleville, Badenoch, in her own neighbourhood, February 1796, but gives significant details with regard to Evan Macpherson, the cultured Highlander, who taught Mrs Grant herself Gaelic, and being 'an excellent Gaelic scholar' did other remarkable things as affecting Macpherson and his 'Ossian.' Evan Macpherson had been 'born and educated a gentleman,' Mrs Grant tells us; but had been very unfortunate all his life. He had resided in Skye, and in other parts of the Highlands, and was thoroughly well acquainted with every aspect of Gaelic life and thought. At Laggan, where his brother had been minister, he had taught a school, and in the neighbourhood had formed an intimacy with James Macpherson. By this man, 'The Prophet' of Mrs Grant's familiar 'Letters,' the capable Gaelic scholar, James Macpherson was accompanied on one of his journeys in search of the Gaelic poems. On the other journey Macpherson was accompanied by a no less significant personage. This was Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie, also a competent Gaelic scholar, who assisted in the work that James had in hand, and regarding whom some curious things emerged later, as will presently be seen.

All the world knows the remarkable outcome of these journeys in search of ancient Gaelic poetry. James Macpherson reported results to literary friends from time to time as the journeys proceeded. Not only was ancient Gaelic poetry found in abundance; but it was found in complete dramatic episodes, the like of which had never before been encountered, and was never encountered again by the most diligent and competent of scholars. In particular, he asserted, 'I have been lucky enough to lay my hands on a pretty complete poem, and truly epic, concerning Fingal.' Here, then,

is the situation. James Macpherson, himself incapable of producing Gaelic manuscript of any passable kind, proceeds on this roving commission in search of Gaelic poems—the substance of certain of which was already in his mind—and is accompanied in his quest by two competent Gaelic scholars, one the unfortunate Evan Macpherson, and the other Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie, regarding whom a curious thing has to be noted. Dr W. F. Skene, who helped to edit the *Dean of Lismore's Book*, with its genuine Gaelic fragments, in 1862, states that, happening to be in the neighbourhood of Strathmashie, he was informed that after Lachlan Macpherson's death, in 1767, a paper was found in his repositories containing in Gaelic the *Seventh Book of Temora* in his own handwriting, with numerous corrections and alterations, and having the title, 'First rude draft of the *Seventh Book of Temora*.' It is a most singular thing that it was the *Seventh Book of Temora* that was put on exhibition with Macpherson's publishers in 1762, and if Dr Skene's information was correct this throws light on the methods by which the Gaelic originals were produced. It is not necessary to suppose, of course, even if Dr Skene's information were accurate in all particulars, that Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie fabricated the manuscript. The likelihood, indeed, is that he did not. But the assistance given by him and Evan Macpherson, through their competency in Gaelic, to the production of these 'originals,' which James Macpherson proceeded to operate upon, made possible, there is not the least doubt, the publication of the *Ossian* poems, and the remarkable celebrity of the work. If James Macpherson had been alone there would have been no Gaelic 'Fingal' and no Gaelic 'Temora,' and he would have died an obscurer and in all probability a poorer man.

We have now reached the stage when certain things must be said with regard to the Gaelic 'originals' from which James Macpherson made his translation. Before doing so, however, it is pertinent to the inquiry to note one particular aspect of Macpherson's character, well enough known in his lifetime but nearly forgotten now, yet knowledge of which is essential to a right understanding of the situation.

It is well established that he was an extraordinarily vain man, and in particular that his literary vanity was extreme. Indeed, it was to this that his connexion with this whole Ossianic business was due. We must remember that he began badly, when only a young man of twenty-three, a tutor at Moffat, by an imposition in this very subject on John Home, the author of 'Douglas,' and the first notable personage who became interested in his 'Ossian' productions. Home it was who introduced Macpherson to Dr Blair, and in that way really started him on his career of Gaelic authorship. The fragment produced by Macpherson for John Home—in 1759—was a short, dramatic episode on the 'Death of Oscar,' which was demonstrably false history, so that Macpherson attempted to repair the mistake by 'discovering' a more correct version. Unfortunately, it helped him not at all. But this shows the kind of thing he was doing, even at that early day.

That this overwhelming vanity continued through life we know from many circumstances. Even Mrs Grant, a personal friend and neighbour, was constrained to say, at the time of Macpherson's death, that 'his will, which was made some time before this period of anguish, was, alas, too strongly marked with that vanity and ostentation which threw a deep shade over many good qualities he really possessed.' It may be recalled that by this same will Macpherson bequeathed, properly, the 1000*l.* sent him from India for the purpose, for the publication of the Gaelic originals of 'Ossian'; also, that he left 500*l.* for the erection of a monument to himself at Belleville, Kingussie, where the tall obelisk may be seen to this day, and left directions that when dead he was to be buried in Westminster Abbey. It may be a shock to many readers to know that this was actually done, and that Macpherson rests in Poets' Corner.

With regard to the Gaelic originals of the 'Ossian' poems—to which far too little attention has been paid—these have a literary history of their own, but a sentence or two must suffice. After much trouble, and with the aid of the 1000*l.* sent from India, these originals were published in three volumes by the Highland Society of London in 1807, eleven years after Macpherson's death. They were published in a second edition, edited by Ewen

MacLachlan of Aberdeen, a Lochaber man and an accomplished Gaelic scholar, in one volume, in Edinburgh, in 1818. A third edition, edited by the Rev. Thomas McLauchlan, was published in Edinburgh, in one volume, in 1861 (although the title-page is dated 1859); and a fourth edition, edited by the Rev. Archibald Clerk, minister of the parish of Kilmallie in Lochaber, and a son-in-law of Dr Norman Macleod, was published in Edinburgh, in two volumes, in 1870. In 1902, a small reprint of the edition of 1818, with Thomas McLauchlan's preface of 1859, was published in Edinburgh, McLauchlan being also a scholarly Gael, who, along with Dr W. F. Skene, edited the *Dean of Lismore's Book* (of really ancient Gaelic fragments), in 1862.

Of these five editions of the Gaelic originals of Macpherson's English productions it has to be said that all of them—even the Highland Society's edition—implicated genuineness. Explain it how we may—and it is quite possible of explanation—all these scholarly and undoubtedly sincere men, accepted these Gaelic originals as, on the whole, authentic. It may be safely said that the last editor of these documents will be the last person of competency in Gaelic scholarship to do so.

There are many things to be said with regard to these Gaelic originals that shed new light on the situation, and not only dispose of their authenticity, but show pretty clearly how they came to be produced. In the first place, it is seen that they are written wholly in modern Gaelic, which is a very different thing from even the Gaelic of, say, the 17th century, and entirely different from the Gaelic of an earlier date than A.D. 1500. This at once disposes of Macpherson's claim that he translated from ancient Gaelic manuscripts, or that the 'originals' he produced were copied from ancient manuscripts. It puts him, on this principal claim, fundamentally in error. No scrap of ancient Gaelic manuscript such as Macpherson claimed to have worked upon was ever produced, either in Macpherson's time, or since. The whole of the Gaelic 'originals,' as above, from which his translation was made, was in his own handwriting, or in that of amanuenses. This was so even with the portion of 'Temora' that was placed on exhibition in London, in 1762, and this fact alone is significant of Macpherson's actions throughout.

It has also been established that these Gaelic 'originals' were not obtained from genuine oral sources. Many hundreds of genuine Gaelic traditions have been collected, both in the Highlands and the Islands of Scotland and in Ireland, since Macpherson's time, dealing even with ancient Gaelic battles, and personages, and customs, and what not; but no collector, although some have been far more diligent and competent than James Macpherson, has ever come across a single scrap of tradition of the kind that was put forward by him in these singular productions. It is as certain now as if Macpherson had personally stated the fact that the Gaelic 'originals' from which he made his translation were not obtained from genuine sources, either written or spoken, but were composed in Macpherson's own time, by a person ill-equipped in Gaelic history, and indifferently competent—generally speaking—in Gaelic composition and versification.

As to this it is a significant circumstance that whereas up to the date of the fourth edition of the Gaelic 'originals' of these romances Gaelic scholars were found arguing for the genuineness of the work, the last edition, 1902, was merely a reprint, without contemporary authoritative direction of any kind, and that, at the present day, no competent Gaelic scholar will be found in Europe who would take up the attitude that Macpherson's work, either in respect of the Gaelic 'originals,' or the English translations, was authentic. We may close this particular aspect of our study by quoting only one recent pronouncement on the subject. The most accomplished Gaelic scholar in Britain at the present time is Dr John Fraser, formerly Lecturer in Celtic and Comparative Philology at the University of Aberdeen, and now Professor of Celtic in Oxford University. Of James Macpherson and his work Prof. Fraser says:

'Celtic scholars are now agreed that Macpherson's "Ossian," though not a pure invention, was, nevertheless, a forgery; for on examination the Gaelic originals are found to be inaccurate in metre, and diffuse in diction, when compared with genuine compositions in early Scottish Gaelic. Again, the minute and finical descriptions of landscape, the vagueness of localities, and the atmosphere of vast sentimentality which envelope all these poems are traits which are entirely alien to early Scottish Gaelic poetry.'

One remarkable feature of all these Gaelic 'originals' is their homogeneity—they are not merely cast in the same strain, but are marked uniformly by the same defects, as well as by the same positive characteristics. Certain points are actually amusing. Here is one. In James Macpherson's day the science of Archæology was only in its infancy; but we find Fingal, in 'Carrie-Thura,' actually expatiating on the prospective antiquarian interests of the latest times. I quote, for this point, Macpherson's English version, which is a fairly close translation of the 'original':—

"Son of Annir," replied the king, "the fame of Sora's race shall be heard! When chiefs are strong in war, then does the song arise. But if their swords were stretched over the feeble; if the blood of the weak has stained their arms, the bard shall forget them in the song, and their tombs shall not be known. The stranger shall come and build there, and remove the heaped-up earth. A half-worn sword shall rise before him; bending above it, he will say—'These are the arms of the chiefs of old, but their names are not in song.'"

The picture of an antiquary bending over the half-worn sword (*Meirg's an smùir*, 'rusty in the dust,' is the phrase in the 'original') is so supremely modern that the wonder is that the whole episode was not laughed out of court. But the credulity—perhaps it was merely the acquiescent receptivity—of the times was almost beyond belief. There is no doubt now that Macpherson made his English version of 'Ossian' from these Gaelic 'originals.' His rendering is close, but not literal, and he operated skilfully as he went along to accentuate just the qualities that he knew would tell with English-speaking readers. Take, as an example, his manner of reproducing the names of characters in the work—in a form that would be easy and attractive to persons who were ignorant of Gaelic and Gaelic history. These names, in their correct form, are often good examples of pagan personal names among the Gaels in pre-Christian times, and in such a matter as this, we may be sure, the Gaelic assistants of James Macpherson, with their more intimate knowledge of the Gaelic speech, would be helpful.

Thus, 'Cath-Loda,' which opens the series of episodes, Vol. 245.—No. 486.

properly is Cath-Loduinn, the Battle of Denmark (usually set down, Scandinavia); 'Carthón,' the title of another of the poems, a name supposed to be borne by the royal son of Moína, Macpherson thought to mean 'Murmur of Waves,' but it signifies properly 'Car-Thonn,' Bending, or Winding Wave, and 'Bal-Clutha,' where the events of the poem mainly occur, is 'Baile-Cluatha,' Town of the Clyde—now improperly spelt Dumbarton. 'Oina-Morul' is another title in Macpherson's English version, a feminine name, 'Oigh-nam-mór-shùl,' 'Maid of the Big Eyes.' The flowing feminine name of Macpherson's English version, 'Colna-dona,' is his form of 'Gaol-nan-daoine,' 'Love of Men'; and, like it, Macpherson's 'Strina-dona,' the King's daughter, is 'Stri-nan-daoine,' 'Strife of Men,' likely enough to have been actually used. The title of Temora is particularly arresting. Macpherson, who had heard it pronounced—as, doubtless, with all the others—held it to stand for 'Tigh-mór-righ,' 'Great House of the King,' the palace. More than likely it is the same as the familiar Tara, the great hill in Meath, where a royal residence stood. This was, properly, Temhair.

Macpherson's translation otherwise, although he knew quite well what the Gaelic 'originals' contained, is marked throughout by an accentuation of sentimentality, and soft mysticism, done, obviously, for a purpose. In 'Cath-Loda,' the opening piece, the Gaelic version says that before the battle 'went each chief to his hill' and took up his position. Macpherson turns this into 'They went each to his hill of *mist*.' In 'Fingal,' Cuchullin, in his inciting address, calls on his people to 'Place two spears together by my side,' and this Macpherson turns into 'three' spears. 'Fingal' is a fruitful field for the study of this tendency in the translator. Sometimes—often, indeed—the English translation is quite different from the Gaelic 'original,' whether due to ignorance or design no one now can say. A good instance occurs in 'Cath-Loda,' in the hazy description of the hill, Lurthan, residence of Rurmar, 'hunter of boars.' Says the Gaelic:

'An àrd Thoirne, innis nan gaoith,
Dh'éireas Lurthan nan sruth-chàrn;
A liath-cheann gun choill,' 's e maol.'

['In the height of Torno, island of the winds,
 Rose up hill Lurthan of the streamy-cairns;
 Its grey head clear of wood, and bare.]

Macpherson's rendering reverses this, clearly wrongly, for the idea intended is desolation, without trees. He says: 'In Tormoth's resounding isle arose Lurthan, streamy hill. It bent its woody head over a silent vale.'

The last stage of our study is to glance for a moment at certain fundamental deficiencies of these Gaelic 'originals,' indicating their authorship. We have seen that these 'originals' were written in modern Gaelic, which excludes the idea put forward by Macpherson that they were drawn from ancient documentary sources. We have seen, also, that nothing of their kind has been found in genuine tradition, which excludes the idea of a genuine oral source. But the contents themselves proclaim their quality and history. For instance, in the genuine oral fragments that have been collected—and on the same ground traversed by Macpherson—folk institutions and folk customs are distinguishing features. We find the most interesting tales of 'glaistigs' (she-devils, witches, carlines, and so forth), of 'uruisgs' (beings who haunted lonely places), water-sprites, fairy-knolls, and so on—beings who filled a large part of the ancient life of Gaelic folk. But these things are unknown to James Macpherson's work. The ancient (genuine) traditions deal largely, too, with satires on women, poems on individual clans, on the flocks that were herded, on clan family history, even on Celtic art, as expressed on sculptured stones, a specially attractive and widespread aspect of ancient Gaelic life, pre-Historic and Early Christian. But nothing of that is found in Macpherson's 'Ossian,' either Gaelic or English.

The most significant defects of these productions—sufficient in themselves to stamp them as belonging to Macpherson's own time, as well as to indicate the probability of an individual fabricator—are, first, the absence of any reference to hut-circles, and, secondly, to hill-forts. With regard to hut-circles, these only began to receive close attention in our own day, but already hundreds of them have been discovered in many parts of Scotland. They are the foundation-remains of houses occupied by the ancient Gaels, and these huts played

just as much a part, comparatively, in their daily life as 'housing' does in ours. But James Macpherson never heard of them; they are not to be found in his 'Ossian,' either Gaelic or English. If his Gaelic 'originals' had been really based on genuine ancient material the huts that we are now finding so enlightening might have been expected to be there. To judge from Macpherson's work the ancient Gaels lived either in palaces or caves. But they lived in houses, of a kind that he—and the fabricator of these poems—had no idea of, otherwise we may be very sure the hut-circles would have appeared in 'Ossian.'

The matter of the hill-forts is still worse. The study of these, too, is subsequent to Macpherson's time, and it is not to his discredit in any way that he knew nothing about them. But that no reference to them appears in his 'Ossian' productions is conclusive evidence against the genuineness of his material. His chiefs were continually at war, and often he makes them take to their hills; but never do they take to a hill-fort, the 'dùn,' the typical Gaelic stronghold, of which Scotland is now seen to possess so many admirable examples, not merely on the mainland, but in the Western Islands. Not only were these hill-forts the strongholds of the chiefs, they were, too, the safe enclosures of the Gaelic people, just as the hill-forts of Gaul were the enclosures of the Celtic folk in the days of Cæsar.

Note how different is Macpherson's silence on this material point compared with genuine ancient Gaelic tradition. An admirable instance will be found in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, of date prior to the 16th century. It is the same Ossian as Macpherson wished to glorify who speaks; but he does so in his own country, Ireland, and the material is of genuine Irish source:

'I have a tale which I would tell regarding our people, O Patrick!

Listen to Finn's prediction.
Shortly ere thou cam'st, O Priest,
The hero was to build a fort
On Cnailgne's bare and rounded hill.
He laid it on the Feine of Fail
Materials for the work to get' ('Dean of Lismore,' p. 14).

The outcome of this study is inevitable, and easily

summed up. First—James Macpherson, who began with 'Ossian' imposture in 1759, before anything was published on the subject, continued the imposture throughout his life, and on this subject is unworthy of belief in any degree. Second—Undoubtedly he made a translation from Gaelic 'originals,' which were published in 1807, after his death, these 'originals' being in his own handwriting or in that of his assistants; further, that he was so incompetent in the Gaelic as to be incapable of putting together in that language the material of those 'originals,' and that the process of expressing the material in form was done by those persons with whom he was closely in touch, who were known to be sufficiently competent for such work. Third—The Gaelic 'originals' were themselves impostures; and the conception of them was due to a single person, of Macpherson's own time, of limited knowledge, not only in Gaelic speech, but also of Gaelic history and archæology—all tending to the certainty, when the known facts are taken into account, that the real author of these Gaelic 'originals' was Macpherson himself. The only further question that could possibly arise would be, Was he the actual trickster through all this wretched scheme of deception, or was he the tool of others? There can be but one answer. Macpherson was the only person who stood to gain—who, in point of fact, did gain—by the publication of the pretended 'discoveries'; while his known record indicates sufficiently that he would have no scruples. It may well be that in such an affair as this—in the earlier stages, at least—no high ethical standard was involved, but the period of deception was too prolonged, and the process too well considered, for an explanation of honest dealing to apply.

It is a sordid record—sad for the memory of a person who had good abilities, and not creditable to the Gaelic scholarship of the 18th, and the first three-quarters of the 19th centuries. It is much to the credit of Gaelic scholarship of our own time that, uninfluenced by racial feeling which previously must have affected impartial judgment of the work, it has finally rejected James Macpherson and his 'Ossian,' which can now be set down as one of the most remarkable literary impostures that has happened in Britain in modern times.

G. M. FRASER.

Art. 9.—THE FATHER OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

THE father of Political Economy and the inventor of the term was Antoyne de Montchrétien, who in 1615 published his 'Traicté de l'Economie Politique' at Rouen. It is a very interesting book and he was a remarkable man; but both are very little known outside France, and even there Montchrétien is better known as a dramatist and man of letters than as an economist. Elsewhere the man and his book are hardly ever mentioned; few economic writers seem to have heard of them. In fact, the invention of the term 'political economy' is still often ascribed to Adam Smith or to the Physiocrats 150 years after its real origin. This neglect is curious in an age when historical research into economic theory in the past is so active. Surely the man who first conceived and named the science which plays so great a part in modern thought deserves some of the attention lavished on other early writers who contributed to some particular branch of the subject, but had no such comprehensive grasp of it. It is a fact of real historical interest that the conception of political economy did not come in, as commonly supposed, with the 'classical economists' of the 18th century, who preached Free Trade, but with the rise of the 'mercantile system,' which intervened between the mediæval order and the era of free enterprise. The fact has been missed through the studied refusal to give Montchrétien his proper place in the history of economic theory. Not that he invented or inaugurated the mercantile system in the same sort of way as the Physiocrats and Adam Smith may be said to have invented Free Trade by preaching it as a reaction against the system of regulation in force. But he did preach it for France, because other countries were already practising it to her detriment; and by his treatment of the subject he gave coherence to the principles on which it was based, systematised it, and inspired the subsequent policy of France under Richelieu and Colbert, which effectually established and consolidated it as the standing economic order, both national and international.

There is a remarkable parallel between his position

and that of Tariff Reform in this country since Mr Chamberlain took it up more than twenty years ago; and this makes him all the more interesting. The parallel is, indeed, in particular details almost ludicrously close to the actual situation to-day, as I shall presently show. Montchrétien was really at heart in favour of reciprocally free trade, but since free trade had come to mean free imports of foreign goods into France and protective tariffs against French goods in other countries, he was driven to advocate protection. To make all this clear, however, it is necessary to give an account of the man and of the times in which he lived. Who was Montchrétien?

The biographical details are scanty. When M. Funck Brentano resuscitated and republished the '*Traicté*' in 1889, he collected, with the assistance of other French scholars, all the information that could be gathered from contemporary sources and embodied it in the introduction to his edition. The chief source was the '*Mercur* François' of 1621, which published a memoir after the death of Montchrétien in the Huguenot rising of that year. M. Brentano suggests that this account was mainly responsible for the ill odour in which the name of Montchrétien was held, and the consequent injustice done to his memory. There is certainly evidence of hostile prejudice, which was indeed inevitable in the excited partisan atmosphere of the times. Though not a Huguenot, Montchrétien had taken up arms on their behalf against the royal forces in that extraordinarily confused conflict; and the contemporary newspaper, which was on the other side, naturally presented him in the most unfavourable light possible. Its account reminds one of Gibbon's description of St. George, who was born in a fuller's shop: 'From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the talents of a parasite.' Similarly the '*Mercur* François' assigns to Montchrétien an obscure and servile origin, which carried with it great prejudice in those days, and blackened his character in other ways. But some of the details it gives are themselves inconsistent with this view, and the fact that it devoted a memoir to him at all shows that he was a man of some mark.

He was born, M. Brentano concludes from other

evidence, about 1575 at Falaise in Normandy. His father, the 'Mercure' said disparagingly, was an apothecary who appeared in Falaise without any one knowing whence he came or who he was—all very damning circumstances, of course. But he could not have been an altogether insignificant person, because on his death the Procureur du Roy ordered the neighbours to select a guardian for the boy he left behind him, and they chose the Sieur de Saint-André Bernier, who was afterwards compelled to disgorge 1000 livres which he had misappropriated out of the boy's patrimony. According to the 'Mercure,' the family name was really Mauchrétien, which was changed by Antoine to Montchrestien or Montchrétien. Whatever the truth about his parentage may be, there is no doubt that he was a brilliant youth. He was educated at the College of Caen, and began to write poetry at an early age. Before he was twenty he had written a full-blown tragedy. Between 1596 and 1601 he wrote four others and a sixth a little later. These works gained for him a high place in contemporary literature, and their merits have been recognised in more modern times by Sainte-Beuve and other literary critics of the highest standing. Coming as he did between Montaigne and Corneille in the great age of French literature, he must be credited with no common powers to have achieved such intellectual distinction at such an early age. It is quite incompatible with the hints of the 'Mercure' that he occupied some menial position at the College of Caen and afterwards in the houses of neighbouring gentry. The 'Mercure' was determined to make him out a very low fellow; but menials did not write successful tragedies, nor did they fight duels, as he did. He was obviously a remarkably gifted, high-spirited, and active young man.

In 1603 he fled to England in consequence of a duel, and it was there that he began to take up economic questions, for which he was prepared by having already turned his attention to serious studies. He found a number of French refugees, for the most part artisans, settled at Hampton and carrying on their trades, in which he became interested. He took employment himself in some cutlery and tool works there and mastered the business. After a time he went to Holland to study the

industries and commerce of the Dutch, who were then great competitors of the French. He there investigated the industrial conditions and the educational system. Eventually he received permission to return to France, through the good offices of James I, which would hardly have been exercised for the benefit of a nobody or a common brawler such as the 'Mercure' represents him to have been. He came back during the reign of Henry IV, but not long before the assassination of that monarch in 1610; and it was the changed economic situation which then ensued that induced him to write his treatise. Under Henry the policy of France had gone through two phases: (1) protection, (2) reciprocity. The first was instigated by Barthélemy de Laffémas, whose official position was that of valet to the King, but who was a gentleman and an able financier. In 1596 he had drawn up a *Règlement Générale pour dresser les manufactures en ce Royaume*, which he dedicated to the King, who passed on the scheme to the States General. He proposed to admit the free importation of raw silk and wool, but to prohibit the entry of manufactured goods, and to prevent the establishment of monopolies. These measures, embodying the principles of mercantilism, were adopted, and apparently with success. The economic position of France greatly improved under the administration of Henry IV and his great Minister, Sully.

Both were men of markedly liberal ideas as shown in their religious tolerance and in the project—which they undoubtedly entertained though its precise form and purpose have never been discovered—of forming a United States of Europe with internal free trade or at least reciprocity. They did go so far as to secure reciprocity or the recognition of reciprocal privileges with England and Holland. But after the death of Henry and the retirement of Sully, which followed in the next year, all their work was undone by the Queen Mother and Concini; and among other things their economic policy fell into neglect. Other countries continued to enjoy privileges in France, but gradually withdrew the reciprocal privileges accorded to French trade and French workmen. They restored protection against French goods and practised dumping their own in France. This had a disastrous effect on the French industries,

which had been established and fostered under the previous Government, and it was the situation so caused that moved Montchrétien, who had himself become an industrialist, to write his treatise; its practical aim was to urge counter-protection as the only remedy. He has been blamed for dedicating it to the King and the Queen Mother; but they were the Government, the States General having ceased to exist in 1614, and the terms in which they were addressed are less fulsome than was customary then and long afterwards. Two hundred years later Saint-Simon and Robert Owen both adopted the practice of addressing their projects to crowned heads. To blame Montchrétien for doing the same thing in 1615 is very captious criticism.

The business in which he was interested was the small steel industry, which he had learnt in England. Soon after his return to France he had married, apparently a lady of fortune, and thus acquired the means of realising his projects for promoting French industry. He added de Vatteville to his surname, a piece of presumption which seems to have particularly annoyed the 'Mercure.' In the acts preserved in the Archives of Rouen he bears the title 'Ecuyer et Sieur de Vasteville.' His works were at Ousonne until 1616, when he was made a privy councillor and governor of Châtillon-sur-Loire, after the presentation of his treatise to the Chancellor du Vair. He then moved the works from Ousonne to Châtillon, and he seems to have conducted his business very successfully, for in the year 1617 he had become the owner of a sea-going vessel. This is all we hear of him until 1621, when he plunged into the Huguenot campaign, apparently out of exasperation with the mal-administration of public affairs. He was killed by a pistol shot in one of the scattered engagements of the campaign in which he had displayed so much energy, courage, and resource as to make him particularly obnoxious to the royalist forces.

Such was the man. His character and career are unique in the annals of economic literature. No other man distinguished as an economist has played so many parts and shown so much versatility, unless one regards Sir Walter Raleigh as an economist. There is a curious resemblance between Montchrétien and Saint-Simon,

who came two hundred years later and had been soldier and adventurer and had entertained large projects for the promotion of industry in France; but Saint-Simon was neither poet nor dramatist and his economic studies were much less systematic than Montchrétien's treatise, which we now come to consider. With regard to its general merits and place in economic literature, it is unfortunate that M. Brentano, indignant at the injustice done to Montchrétien's memory, should have somewhat overdone his brief and indulged in rather too much praise. For, as Jókai sagely observes in one of his novels, one eulogist makes ten critics; and among them was Sir W. J. Ashley, who dealt severely with author and editor in a short review of the book in the 'English Historical Review' in 1891. I have the greatest respect for his knowledge and judgment, but I do think he was too hard upon both. His main charge is that Montchrétien was not original, but borrowed freely from Bodin and Laffémas. Undoubtedly he did; nor is it concealed by M. Brentano, who mentions both and explicitly says that Laffémas was *le véritable prédécesseur de Montchrétien*. In those days men used the ideas and even the language of predecessors without indicating the sources of their inspiration; nor is the practice extinct to-day. Sundry popular oracles and public men frequently indulge in it. I notice it because they have played that trick on me, and I have no doubt will do so again. But to-day it is generally held to be dishonest, whereas in Montchrétien's time it was thought legitimate. In the most celebrated chapter of Machiavelli's 'Prince' he introduced as his own Cicero's dictum on the nature and purpose of war, but he has never been reproached for it. Nor has Adam Smith for using Aristotle's division of value into exchange and use value as though it were his own idea. The 'Wealth of Nations' is full of ideas previously expressed by other writers without any indication of the fact.

Indeed it would be difficult to name any book on economic subjects which does not contain ideas that may not be found in some earlier writer, until you get right back to Aristotle; and if we only knew it he was probably indebted to some one else. The essence of the labour theory of value, which figures so largely in modern

literature and is attributed to various 17th-century writers, is to be found in the Book of Genesis in the passage which sentenced Adam and his descendants, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.' That is to say labour was the price that man had to pay for sustenance drawn from the earth, the price for which God sold him wealth or plenty, as Hobbes put it. The essential idea is there; other writers only elaborated it. Has any single writer contributed a larger and more illuminating idea than Montchrétien's conception of political economy? Sir W. J. Ashley gives him some credit for that, but says that there is hardly a single argument or proposal in his treatise that is not to be found in earlier writers. I venture to think, with all respect, that this is an over-statement in the opposite direction to Brentano's eulogy. Covering the same ground as Bodin and Laffémas in regard to national interests, Protection and Free Trade, he naturally used their arguments and proposals, which were not confined to them but generally current; that is admitted. But he added much of his own and put the whole together for the first time in a systematic way. M. Brentano does not go too far when he says that Montchrétien, writing in the midst of the depression which overwhelmed the country, 'pointed out the causes and suggested the remedies with a fullness and precision that neither Bodin nor Laffémas had any idea of.' Much of his exposition has a singularly modern ring; but still more striking to my mind are some epigrammatic generalisations, which go far beyond the range of the particular policy demanded by French interests and urged by him as his immediate aim. He had a much more definite conception and a wider grasp of economics as a separate subject of both theory and practice—as a science and an art—than any of the predecessors. To the mediæval schoolmen, of whom St Thomas Aquinas and St Antonino of Florence were the most eminent, economic questions were, like all others, a branch of theology; they looked only to the ethical side of economic life and held the all-important question to be whether any particular practice was sinful or not, and why. Canon law embodied the decision. Later secular writers discussed money or trade, or some other particular branch

of the subject, but never conceived it as a whole. Montchrétien did, and because he did he coined the term 'political economy' to express the conception.

He did more than coin the term; he defined and explained it. It was *la mesnagerie publique à quoy les nécessités et charges de l'État obligent d'avoir principalement égard*. This is precisely the subject of the 5th and concluding Book of the 'Wealth of Nations,' of which Adam Smith says in his Introduction that it treats of the revenue of the sovereign or commonwealth.

'In this book I have endeavoured to shew, first, what are the necessary expenses of the sovereign or commonwealth; which of those expenses ought to be defrayed by the general contribution of the whole society, and which of them by that of some particular part only or of some particular members of it; secondly, what are the different methods in which the whole society may be made to contribute towards defraying the expenses incumbent on the whole society, and what are the principal advantages and inconveniences of each of those methods. . . .'

Here we have Montchrétien's concise definition of political economy elaborated and particularised but not essentially changed. And he regarded it as not only an art, but also a science, like medicine. More than that, he perceived the larger bearings of the science. Beyond the particular interests of individuals, towns, and States, he said, there is a political economy which demands not only a knowledge of general principles but the instinct of the social organism, *des forces qu'il renferme, les lacunes qu'il présente, des dispositions et des formes du travail, des besoins des uns, des exigences des autres, de leur état physique, intellectuel et moral, des rapports, des classes et les relations entre elles*. . . . It is a broad sociological conception, such as no one had previously entertained. His treatment also was more systematic and comprehensive than any previously attempted. His book is not a mere tractate or pamphlet, like most economic writings of that period, but a substantial volume of 370 pages. It is written in the French of Montaigne—free, fresh, vigorous, and idiomatic, but for that reason difficult to translate. This is not the language of modern economic literature, of course; but neither is that of Adam Smith

160 years later. Smith is less rhetorical than Montchrétien, who was, we must remember, a dramatic poet, but he often seasons the dry bread of strict economic exposition with the salt of general observations and such obiter dicta as 'that crafty and insidious animal the politician or statesman,' 'that unprosperous race of men, commonly called men of letters,' and the like. The dry-as-dust, wholly abstract style only came in with Ricardo; the earlier manner looked less scientific but had more life in it.

Montchrétien's treatise is divided into four books, or parts. The first deals with the mechanical arts, their order and utility, the regulation of manufactures, the industries most necessary and profitable to the community, the cultivation of ability and the duties of the Government in these matters at home and abroad; the second deals with foreign trade, transport, and currency; the third with navigation and overseas enterprise; the fourth with the duties of the Government in regard to poverty, charity, punishment, militia, finance, honours and rewards, expenditure, and the magistracy. In this scheme political economy is still associated with political science in general, but is not conceived as a mere subdivision of the latter, as it had been by Bodin and still was, at a later date, by Hobbes and Locke; it is presented as a whole and as a subject in itself, and is altogether made more important.

He is concerned chiefly with the people—the masses—and their welfare. Of the three estates of the realm—(1) clergy, (2) nobility, (3) people—he says that justice is the cement that holds them together, and that the third, though apparently the most-negligible, is really the most important. It is the basis of the others as the earth is the pedestal and centre of the other elements; without this body the others could not subsist long. It is composed of labourers, artisans, and merchants, who are together the productive classes. As Plato and Aristotle have pointed out, common indigence, which calls for mutual assistance, compels men to associate; hence towns and cities. But the collective whole is made up of individual activities; the house is anterior to the city, the city to the province, the province to the kingdom. So the art of politics depends in a manner on household economy;

good domestic government is a model for public government. Good administration is health all round including all members of the body, the meaner as well as the nobler, the hidden as well as the displayed. Nature nourishes them all, and therefore attention should be paid to the promotion of industries and manufactures, to keeping up navigation, to the revival of commerce; no part of the body should remain inactive. France has all the elements of wealth, and particularly men, but they are not properly used for lack of knowledge. Hence emigration to other countries in search of work and unemployment at home. Care should be taken to employ men in trades and works which combine individual profit with public utility.

He lays much stress on the motive of gain and the force of competition. There is often, he says, as much difference between one man and another as between man and beast. Emulation is in everything a great spur to success; it enables men to reach perfection in all the arts. There is no shorter method of getting those who exercise them to rise quickly to the greatest height than competition in their industry as in the dust of the arena in a tournament of honour. Individual interest is the prime mover in all economic phenomena. All the bustle and toil of so many men have no other object but gain; the circle of affairs revolves round this centre; the whole motion necessarily seeks this point. But, he continues, men maintain their social existence only by the chains of common affection and regard for the common good, which he calls a Gordian knot that cannot be undone save by the sword.

Of productive occupations he gives the first place to agriculture, which is the most excellent of all and should be regarded as the foundation of all powers and riches. The tillers of the soil may be called the feet of the State, for they sustain it and bear the whole weight of the body. Whoever is called to govern the people ought to love them in order to be loved, for they are his strongest rampart and his impregnable fortress. We cannot live without nourishment and we cannot have it without tilling the earth, from which it is derived, so that all live naturally as from their mother. Montchrétien here anticipates the off-quoted saying of Petty that the earth

is the mother and labour the father of wealth. At that time 'labourer' generally meant agricultural worker both in French and English. But though he places agriculture first and says that towns foster malice, idleness, luxury, and cowardice, his main practical purpose is to urge the encouragement of industry and commerce. He recognises that they are secondary, because natural things precede artificial ones and the crafts are not so absolutely necessary to life as agriculture; but they have become so by use and wont. And their order of importance is determined by their utility; those which serve the most numerous purposes are the most useful. Every community ought to be well furnished with them and self-contained; it ought not to borrow necessary things from outside, for being unable to obtain them except by the favour of others it is rendered proportionately weak. It is bad management to put your hand in your pocket and buy what you could produce yourself, or to increase the value of another man's land by leaving your own fallow.

The most generally useful industry, he contends, is that of iron, which is necessary to all the rest. Do not, he says, let the fire of the forge go out; it is easier to keep it alight than to re-light it when it is dead. France should not depend on other countries for iron. We get bad tools from them, better make our own. Nothing conduces so much to cheapness as abundance, and abundance comes from the labour of many, which cannot fail to be available for things in good demand. Thus the country will profit doubly, by the manufacture of goods and the employment of men; and there will be less fraud and bad stuff sold. No English manufacturer was ever more convinced of the inferiority of the 'cheap and nasty' stuff made in other countries than was Montchrétien of the inferior quality of foreign wares imported into France, particularly from England; but, he sadly observes, it is the fashion to prefer foreign work and foreign styles—as one might say 'Paris fashions' or 'made in Germany.' But being himself a manufacturer of French hardware he may have been prejudiced. Three hundred years have made some change in circumstances but none at all in human psychology. This becomes still more apparent when he

goes on to the textile and other industries, with which he deals in great detail, showing a thorough knowledge of the subject. He takes clothing, hats, linen, wool, silk, leather, dyes, building, printing, paper, and glass; and he lightens the technical details with shrewd general observations.

Writing of clothes he says that men are as vain as peacocks in all ages, and clothes have been turned from a necessary into vain pomp. Again, he observes that wealth comes from work. The happiness of men consists primarily of wealth, and wealth depends upon work; every country which possesses wealth has industry. *L'industrie doit estre leur premier vivant et leur dernier mourant* is a characteristic sentence which would lose its flavour in translation. A State, he goes on, is well off when all the subjects have means enough for their needs or, not having them, can acquire them; this is the surest bridle to control Typhæus, who when he worries and toils and gains nothing makes the earth tremble. The philosophy of violent revolution has never been more concisely and picturesquely stated. Typhæus was toiling and worrying at the time through depression of trade, which Montchrétien attributed to unfair foreign competition. The textile trades were particularly hard hit and not doing half what they had been. One hears the people murmur and complain, he says, in every seat of this industry, that they are out of work and starving for lack of orders; and he pleads earnestly for consideration of the piteous suffering of the women and children. One branch of the trade deserves special mention because of its historical interest and also because it brings Montchrétien curiously close to our own economic politics of to-day, and not only politics but fashions in dress. This branch is silk stockings. Laffémas had in 1597 drawn attention to the loss occasioned by the importation of silk stockings, which he said were worn by at least 50,000 persons, each of whom would have four pairs a year. Montchrétien took up the tale and argued that stockings made in France ought to be good enough for the French, as those made in England were for the English. More than a million crowns, he said, left the country every year to pay for these goods, which was, of course, pure loss according to the mercantile theory.

'This enormous sum,' he continued, 'will surprise no one who casts his eyes on the number of legs that wear them and thinks of the quantity they require; it is not as it used to be in the days of our good old fathers, when princes and lords wore them but seldom. Now that times and fashions have changed I do not wish to blame the habit, provided that the profit remains with us; otherwise it costs us too dear.' Well, we certainly see an enormous number of legs wearing them to-day—and see more and more of the stocking—but there is a difference. I imagine the wearers meant by Montchrétien were men; women wore them too, but were not so much in evidence.

He laid stress on the money going abroad because that would appeal to the King and his advisers, who were imbued with the current economic theory of accumulating cash in the country; but his real concern was the prevailing unemployment and distress. The obvious remedy was protection, which he urged on the same principles as Bodin—free importation of raw materials, but a high tariff against manufactured articles which could be produced at home. The nations seem still to be guided by those very principles. But he really had more liberal ideas, as I have said above. International trade, he held, was called for by mutual need because the things required for human existence are distributed in different regions. Commerce arises from deficiency and is ruled by need. Consequently it should be equal between equals and subject to the same conditions on both sides in accordance with international law. There should be no suggestion of inferiority or humiliation on either side, but reciprocal freedom without restrictions on account of nationality. For instance, since all parts of France are freely open to Spain, why should the largest and best provinces of Spain be closed to France? Unmanufactured articles should be admitted free for the sake of greater abundance and convenience, and this allows of mutual arrangement. For instance, England has lead, which France lacks, and it might be exchanged for French wine, which the English appreciate so highly. Protection should be reserved for necessities.

Trade, he goes on, is divided into internal and external; the one is more secure, common, constant, and

generally useful, the other larger, more showy, and more hazardous, both for gain and loss. The former is generally carried on between individuals, the latter more by and for the community and more according to opportunity; the one serves to preserve the State as it is, the other tends to enlarge it; the one fosters diligence, the other enterprise; the one binds the citizens to each other and conciliates them, the other draws different nations together. Both are necessary, and they join hands in such a way as to strengthen each other, mutually adjust their means, further their designs, and ensure their success.

Credit is the soul of commerce. Those who wish to carry on business usefully and profitably must preserve their good name—wise maxims, driven home to-day by the experience of Russia. Montchrétien allows merchants a fair profit. As for malpractices and lying about prices (profiteering), these are due to the vices of men, not to their occupation, which can be carried on in a fair and clear way without such evils. He does not deny that the business mind is ordinarily more bent on private acquisition than moved by love of the public; but that is no reason for expelling them from society and depriving them of citizenship as a kind of helots. It is the part of the authorities to see that things are sold at a fair price, to check frauds, monopolies, and adulteration.

How very modern all this is! I remember the question—Can a business man be a Christian?—being posed not many years ago at a Church Congress, to which I was invited to contribute a paper. I took the same line as Montchrétien, and contended that if a business man was not a Christian it was his own fault. But why business man alone? No one reproaches consumers, who get all they can for their money, drive hard bargains and cheat if possible, for their non-Christian conduct. I have never been able to understand why a higher morality is demanded of a man when he sells than when he buys; but that standpoint is so universal that its justice is taken for granted and never questioned. The only reason I can see is that all are consumers and general buyers, while each is only a particular seller. I think Montchrétien took a wider view. Not that he defended malpractices; on the contrary, he denounced

them. In particular he pointed out the abuses in the State salt monopoly. 'We have long known,' he says, 'by sad experience that far too many people, as hangers-on, tax-collectors, police, toll-gatherers, controllers, warders, re-graters, and down to the smallest retailers, daily invent new means of making a profit by various devices to the ruin of the people.' But that was in a State service. Colbert afterwards effected great improvement by financial reforms, and achieved the 'masterpiece of increasing the revenue while diminishing the duty.'

As I have already said, Colbert was inspired by Montchrétien, who was essentially a reformer and particularly concerned about the state of the poor, as the Physiocrats were in the next century. He held that the law of economic progress was to make necessities cheaper and luxuries dearer. Injustice should be redressed by taxation. By these means it is possible to preserve tranquillity; for the rich, like the stronger parts of the body, always lay their weight on the weakest, and place their own burden on those who are already sinking; and the extreme poverty of the one and the excessive wealth of the others are the usual cause of troubles, seditions, and civil wars. But in regard to all these matters and all the economic evils he enumerates, with others passed over because they are so many, he refers them ultimately to moral defects. 'They come primarily from the fact that men no longer have the fear of God before their eyes, as formerly they had, are no longer restrained by good laws and no longer recognise what they are, namely, members of the same body, united under the same head, and, in a word, baptised with the same spirit. The best ordinances are no more than vain words for lack of men to enforce them, charity is frozen up and can no longer kindle us to mutual love and service.'

After all, it seems, modern Capitalism is not so modern or so responsible for economic and social evils as some would have us believe.

A. SHADWELL.

Art. 10.—PALESTINE—YESTERDAY AND TO-MORROW.

1. *Report of the High Commissioner on the Administration of Palestine, 1920-25.* Colonial No. 15, 1925.
2. *Palestine of the Mandate.* By W. Basil Worsfold. Unwin, 1925.
3. *Awakening Palestine.* Edited by Leon Simon and Leonard Stein. Murray, 1923.
4. *Zionism.* By Leonard Stein. Ernest Benn, 1925.

ALTHOUGH most of the readers of 'The Quarterly Review' are aware of the statistical facts and of the historical developments, it may be advisable to remind them that the area of Palestine is approximately 9500 square miles, and that its population amounts to roughly 800,000 souls. This population, which has increased by 130,000 in the last five years, is made up of about 615,000 Moslems, 104,000 Jews, and 75,000 Christians. In the year 1921-22 Palestine, excluding Transjordan, cost the Home Government 3,155,000*l.*, which sum covered the upkeep of the British Forces and the financial assistance given to the Palestinian Government. This too vast amount has been reduced for the year 1925-26 to an estimated sum of 640,600*l.*, including the grant in aid for the British Gendarmerie and the cost of the regiment of cavalry, a squadron of aeroplanes, and a section of armoured cars. In exchange for this Great Britain has the immense moral advantage of the guardianship of the Holy Land, and as Mr Herbert Sidebotham points out in 'Awakening Palestine,' the terms of the Balfour Declaration assure to us the friendship of the Jewish world and the British Mandate is of preponderating importance in the defence of the Suez Canal. Moreover, from the practical and economic standpoint, one-fourth of the imports into Palestine come from the British Empire, that is, more than twice as much as from any other country except Syria, and nearly one-third of the exports go to various parts of the Empire.

The political situation, under which Palestine is still governed without any form of popular representation, is the outcome of a variety of developments which must be recited in order that the conditions of the

present and of the probable future may be understood. For nearly three years prior to the arrival of Sir Herbert Samuel, on July 1, 1920, a great part of the country had been controlled by a Military Administration. During this time and after the establishment of the Civil Régime, racial feeling ran high, the more extreme Zionists boasting as to what was to be their position under the Mandate, and the Arabs believing that Palestine was to become a purely Jewish country. In the spring of 1920 there were riots in Jerusalem, and these disturbances were repeated on a larger scale in Jaffa and the neighbourhood during May 1921. But in October 1920, immediately after his arrival, Sir Herbert Samuel formed the first Advisory Council,* and subsequent to the Jaffa outbreak he appointed a Commission to inquire into that disturbance.† Moreover, in June 1921, the High Commissioner announced to an Assembly of Notables that the British Government was giving the closest attention to the question of insuring a free and authoritative expression of popular opinion, and in the following month an Arab Delegation went to London, where it was received at the Colonial Office. After some delay, during which the obstructive policy of the Arabs was becoming more noticeable, the draft constitution was submitted to this Delegation, a Correspondence‡ took place between the Government and that Body and the Zionist Organisation, and, on Sept. 1, 1922, by which time the British Mandate had been approved by the Council of the League of Nations, "The Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922," was promulgated.§

The Advisory Council, set up in October 1920, met for the last time in February 1923, and in the spring of that year (February and March) the primary elections were held for the new Legislative Council, which was to

* This Council was made up of ten unofficial nominated Representatives (four Moslems, three Christians, and three Jews), and of ten Members of the Administration.

† The Report of the Commission was published as a White Paper, Cmd. 1540, 1921.

‡ This Correspondence was published as a White Paper, Cmd. 1700, 1922.

§ This order and certain dependant documents published in the 'Official Palestinian Gazette' for Sept. 1, 1922.

consist of official and elected members.* Largely owing to the non-co-operation of the Arab leaders, an insufficient number of secondary electors was nominated, and consequently the elections were declared null and void. Subsequently, two further opportunities were given to the Arab leaders to co-operate in the government of the country, the first by the reconstitution of the Advisory Council with a membership conforming to that which had been proposed for the Legislative Council, and the second by the formation of an Arab Agency † on the lines of the Jewish Agency. When the Mandate had already been brought into operation by a Resolution of the Council of the League, of September 1923, and when it was obviously impossible for the moment to hope for success in the establishment of any elected form of Government, a new Advisory Council, consisting of the High Commissioner and ten official Members, was appointed in December 1923.

At the present time, therefore, the Government of the country consists of the High Commissioner, whose staff is composed of a Chief Secretary and a Secretariat, of the Executive Council, ‡ and of an appointed Advisory Council. The High Commissioner, who possesses practically arbitrary rights, and the Executive Council consider all Ordinances before they are discussed by the Advisory Council, but the most careful safeguards are taken to secure justice for the people and to prevent any infringement of the Mandate. At this point the Administration is separated into two parts—the district and the departmental machinery. From 1920-22 the country was divided into seven districts; but in July of the latter year this number was reduced to four, and it has now been cut down to three, which are to be still further reduced by the disappearance of the Jerusalem Province

* There were to be ten official Members besides the High Commissioner, and the twelve elected Representatives were to consist of eight Moslems, two Jews, and two Christians.

† The Correspondence between the Colonial Office and the High Commissioner in regard to this proposal was published as a White Paper, Cmd. 1989, 1923.

‡ The Executive Council, established under the Palestine Order in Council of 1922, is made up of the High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Treasurer. Its composition may be changed by the direction of the Home Government.

in the near future. The three Governors, with their assistants, carry out the instructions sent from headquarters, collect the tithes and other taxes, and act as mediums of communication between the people and headquarters.

Taking Sir Herbert Samuel's very comprehensive Report as a model and bringing to bear knowledge acquired during the months of March and April, which I spent in Palestine, it is now desirable to review the work of the principal departments of the State, beginning with those responsible for public security, justice, and finance. The establishment of good order, which now exists almost throughout the country, has been brought about by the provision of justice, by the improvement of the communications, and by the organisation and maintenance of contingents sufficient to insure the peace. Ignoring the British Military forces, to which reference has been made, these consist of the Police, of the Palestinian Gendarmerie, and of the British Gendarmerie. In the Police and Palestinian Gendarmerie, where only the higher officers are British, all sections of the native population are represented, and these native elements, as also the members of the British Gendarmerie, do their work well; as is proved by the facts that there was a decided decrease in highway robbery last year and that no disorders occurred at the time of Lord Balfour's visit in March and April.

The Mandate did away with the Capitulations and privileges of foreigners; but the Palestine Order in Council maintained most of the rights formerly enjoyed by the Courts of the various religious communities. The results are that everybody in Palestine has become subject to the same legal system, except in matters of personal status, and that the laws which existed in Turkish times have only been changed and supplemented in cases of clear necessity. But in order to meet the special circumstances, a foreign subject—that is, a non-Palestinian—has the right to be tried by a British judge or by a British majority of judges, and the Executive naturally avoids any interference with the Courts. The Local Tribunals are in the hands of Palestinians; but British Judges preside over the District Courts and over the Court of Appeal, and there is a right of appeal to

the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The existence of the three official languages and the necessity for the presence of interpreters in the Courts carry with them delay and have their obvious difficulties, but I heard no serious complaints upon the administration of justice, either from the Arabs or the Jews, and this suggests that the Civil Authorities are to be congratulated upon their maintenance of and amendments to a structure established under the Military Administration.

The financial task was a difficult one because, the resources being small, the most rigid economies were required and a new staff had to be created. The Turkish method of taxation has been maintained, but the corruption, which previously existed, has been practically stamped out and the system of farming the taxes, particularly the tithe, has been abolished. In spite of a fall in the prices of agricultural produce, and therefore of the reduction in the value of the tithe, which is one of the most important financial assets of the country, the budget has balanced, except on one occasion, and in the last financial year there was a surplus of £E263,000, which has enabled the Government to reduce the tithe from 12½ per cent. to 10 per cent. Furthermore, whereas Palestine has had the benefit of the use, free of payment, of the main line of railway and of certain other works constructed during, or directly after, the War, she has provided considerable sums for the purchase of the Jaffa-Jerusalem line from a French company, for the payment of her share of the Ottoman pre-war debt, and for the interest due on the advances made by the Crown Agents. In short, considering that over and above the Grant for the British Gendarmerie, which amounts to approximately £E192,000, the revenue only came to £E1,820,000 for 1924-25, marvellous results have been achieved from the all-important financial standpoint.

It is impossible here to follow Sir Herbert Samuel through his detailed account of the work of the departments, and my only alternative is to refer to certain of the developments and questions brought prominently to my notice when talking to people of all classes and when touring the country. In Turkish times very primitive education was available at the hands of the

Government, whilst the various Christian and Jewish organisations had their own schools. After the British occupation the Government schools and, where possible, their staffs were taken over, Turkish was replaced by Arabic as the language of instruction, and a large number of new schools have been built, generally by local public subscription. In addition to these elementary schools, for the most part attended by Moslem Arabs, the Government has now opened two training colleges, largely used for the instruction of teachers, and eight schools possessed of facilities for secondary education.

Running more or less parallel with these Governmental institutions is a large number of schools maintained by the various Christian and Jewish communities. No specific legislation applies to these institutions, but they have all been registered in accordance with the existing Turkish law. The language is usually that of the country to which the organising body belongs, and in Jewish schools it is almost invariably Hebrew. Owing to the financial situation the governmental grant for these institutions is small, and in 1924-25 it amounted to but £E5000 on a total educational budget of £E103,000, and this in spite of the fact that there are now 425 non-Government schools attended by nearly 39,000 pupils. This condition of things leaves the various communities at a disadvantage, but it cannot be avoided in existing circumstances, and those responsible for the semi-official education of the Palestinian youth must, therefore, be given credit for what is undoubtedly one of the greatest advantages now possessed by the country as a whole. With regard to higher education, the people owe an enormous debt to the American University at Beyrout, and the influence of that Institution is likely to continue, especially in view of the formation of a 'Society for the Promotion of Higher Studies among Moslems.' That Society is conducted entirely by, and for, Moslems; it advances money for the payment, or part-payment, of the fees for higher education, and it has already sent three students to Beyrout. Also, the Hebrew University, opened by Lord Balfour on April 1, should have an excellent future before it, because whereas its work will be primarily among the Jews of Palestine and of the world in general, sooner or later its direct or indirect

influence will surely extend to the other elements of the population.

Public health is possibly the direction in which there was the most crying need in Palestine, and it is, perhaps, the sphere in which the best single work has been done. Malaria was rampant, the people had no idea of sanitation, and illness, once contracted, was allowed to develop freely. The new Government has greatly improved this state of things. On the one hand, the Authorities, fortified by an Ordinance passed in 1922, have left no stone unturned to stamp out malaria by the destruction of the mosquito which is known to be its cause. Swamps have been, and are being, drained; wells have been covered, and rain-water cisterns, which supply a great deal of the water required, have been sealed up, and they and other possible breeding-places of the mosquito are regularly oiled. The Administration, which has itself been extremely active in this work, has had the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation and of the organisation supported by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and the newly-founded Jewish Colonies have made it their first work to do away with any marshes or pools in their neighbourhood. The result is that, although a great deal of drainage remains to be done, the Anopheline mosquito has disappeared from the larger towns, except Haifa; that areas formerly very malarious are now healthy; and that almost the whole of the Plain of Esdraelon has been cleared of fever. Running parallel with this work the Government, and the numerous charitable institutions which exist, have increased the hospital accommodation, and they devote great attention to the diseases of the eye which are so prevalent in the East. Infant Welfare Centres and Clinics have been established, courses of training for nurses are given, and trades and industries liable to cause injury to health are inspected and regulated.

For the purposes of brevity it is desirable to combine my accounts of the Departments of Railways, Public Works, and Posts and Telegraphs, and to merge them into one section dealing with Communications. Before the War the railways of Palestine practically consisted only of the Jaffa-Jerusalem line, and of a narrow-gauge branch connecting Haifa with the Hejaz route. During

the War the Turks built other narrow-gauge lines for military purposes, and the British Army constructed the railway across the desert from Egypt, and, after the conquest of Palestine, prolonged this line to Haifa. At the present time, therefore, the country is fairly well served by railways, a great deal has been done to improve the permanent way, and to provide better rolling-stock, and in the year 1924-25 the system as a whole gave the Government an excess of revenue over expenditure amounting to £E168,000. With regard to Public Works, which for the purposes of this section mean roads and bridges, one of the only legacies left by the Turks was a considerable mileage of main thoroughfares. These were improved and extended by the Military Authorities, and this work has been continued by the Civil Administration. Consequently to-day one of Palestine's greatest assets is her system of trunk roads, usually in such excellent condition as to enable one to average from twenty to thirty miles per hour in a comparatively small car.

The office of Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones is a great achievement. In Turkish times the postal service was largely maintained by Agencies of certain of the Great Powers; the telegraph service was restricted; the telephones were non-existent. Under the Mandate the necessity for the recognition not only of three languages, but of three methods of writing, probably creates greater difficulty here than anywhere except in the Law Courts, but in spite of an almost entire absence of street names and numbers, there is a pretty good postal service, dishonesty is practically unknown, and there is a considerable balance of receipts over expenditure. The telephone, which only began to be available to the public five years ago, is efficient, and, strange to say, is one of the cheapest things in the country. And then if these things only benefit the few, the provision of local postal orders, which are cheaper than the British ones, the introduction of 'an 'urgent' trunk telephone service at double rates, and an arrangement for the delivery of express letters, indicate that this Department has been established upon modern lines and that its management is most efficient.

Palestine is an agricultural country, and nearly two-

thirds of the population are engaged in agriculture and kindred occupations. Whilst, however, about 60 per cent. of the total area may be cultivable only about 45 per cent. is at present under cultivation. Moreover, whereas the Jews are introducing modern methods and getting more out of the ground, the Arabs, who hold by far the greater part of the land, still adopt a primitive system. These conditions, coupled with the fact that the country suffered very heavily during the War, have left a great deal to be done by the Department of Agriculture, Forests, and Fisheries. Loans to the amount of over £E500,000 have been made to cultivators, experts give instruction in the villages, and measures are taken to prevent pests—such as locusts—and to guard against diseases brought in by imported cattle. With regard to afforestation, work has been greatly restricted by a lack of funds, but here, as in the encouragement of the cultivation of tobacco, a beginning has been made. The tobacco monopoly was done away with in 1921, and, in the year 1924, 1800 tons of leaf were produced. With respect to fisheries, the Turkish tax, levied upon all fish caught, has been abolished, and measures have been taken to protect the waters in the Sea of Galilee, which are not now so productive as in the days described in biblical history.

Industry and commerce, which used to be represented only by the soap of Nablus and the wine of Richon, are now worthy of consideration, for, with the new position of the Jews, there are a number of lesser manufactories at Tel-Aviv, the Jewish town adjoining Jaffa, several more important ones at Haifa and the Rutenberg Concessions. Many of the manufactories set up at Tel-Aviv rely largely upon raw materials imported from abroad, they are likely to be compelled to find their markets locally or among those who wish to buy Jewish-made goods, and it seems difficult to foresee their financial success upon a large scale. Not so, however, with some of the industries which I visited in Haifa—industries which have their raw material at hand or which are doing work definitely required by the local inhabitants. Thus whilst Shemen Limited can rely upon native olives and sesame seed largely required for the production of its oils and soap, Neshet Limited not only owns the land

from which to obtain the stone used in the making of Portland cement but a market for that cement is assured, since a great deal of this material is now imported into Palestine. Further, whereas the *Grands Moulins de Palestine* was not working to its full capacity in the spring, there is no practical limit to the output of such a concern, since besides being conveniently located for imported grain, it can also draw upon an extensive hinterland for the corn required for conversion into flour. The importance of the Rutenberg undertakings, concerning which details are given in most of the documents or books cited at the beginning of this article, stands out above all other industrial and commercial enterprises because, with the supply of electricity and electric power, the whole country will be revolutionised. Mr Rutenberg, a Jewish engineer of Russian origin, who is one of the ablest and most clear-sighted men connected with Palestine, is responsible for two concessions. The least important is concerned with Jaffa and its neighbourhood, and the power station at Tel-Aviv is already supplying current and light to the sister cities and the surrounding district. The second, and much greater business, known as the Palestine Electric Corporation, is to utilise the water power provided by the Upper Jordan and its tributary, the Yarmuk, for the distribution of electricity throughout the country, and is building special power stations at Haifa and Tiberias. When the larger undertaking has been completed these stations, together with that at Tel-Aviv, will be maintained as reserves in case of emergency.

Turning to the political situation, there are two principal problems—the attitude of the Arabs, and the present and future positions of the Jews. The vast majority of the population, especially of the Arab population, is ignorant; it is unable to express its views, and so long as there is reasonable justice, public security, and not too heavy taxation, this section of the community is not interested in the technical details of the Government. But there are the politicians and land-owners, who have always had considerable influence among the people, and their positions are now less favourable than in pre-war days. In Palestine, as elsewhere in Turkey, the effendis and landlords were either

the actual representatives of the Government or they occupied a privileged position in which they were supposed to voice the interests of the peasants, and they acted as sort of intermediaries between the authorities and the ordinary population. This system, which was capable of all sorts of abuses, has now been abolished and, with the appointment of more or less efficient functionaries, the upper classes enjoy less political importance. This change, which is a far-reaching one, has the dual consequence of assuring to the masses a greater justice, which is gradually rendering them more content with the new situation, and of leaving the former leaders with a greater desire and leisure to complain. Whilst, therefore, the bulk of the Arabs are, no doubt, strongly opposed to the terms of the Balfour Declaration, which they know at least by name, too much importance should not be given to the complaints of the Arab leaders, since the people themselves must become daily more aware of the advantages they enjoy from the Mandate. Military service and the tax in lieu thereof have been abolished, Turkish has been replaced by Arabic as an official language, while the Moslems benefit more by the new system of education than do the other elements of the community. Furthermore, the people are now in direct relations with the Government, and the most humble members of the community can approach it through the medium of the district authorities. Then, if the whole population profits by the main routes, which I have described, the Arabs, whose villages often lie at a distance from those thoroughfares, are rapidly gaining a great deal from the village roads, about 180 miles of which were constructed last year by the peasants with the assistance of the Government. These roads are for the most part unpaved, but they are well engineered and passable for motors in good weather, and they fulfil the all-important condition of facilitating and safeguarding the passage of native vehicles and pack animals which, in so many primitive countries, are in constant danger of meeting with disaster once they have left the beaten tracks.

There are three directions in which the complaints made and the arguments used by the Arabs seem to me to be inconsistent and illegitimate. Their leaders, who

may have genuine though unjustified fears as to the future, contend that the country is being, or will be, administered not by the British but by the Jews. This argument is offset by the formation, with the approval of the Government, of the Supreme Moslem Council, charged with the duty of dealing with matters directly or indirectly concerned with that religion and by the fact that, as Dr Weizmann stated during the recent Zionist Congress in Vienna, the Jewish Agency was not consulted before the appointment of Lord Plumer as High Commissioner. Unwarranted as are these suspicions, they are, however, largely responsible for the attitude of non-co-operation of the leading Arabs, and particularly for their rejection of the Legislative Council as laid down by the Palestine Order in Council. The powers of that Council were limited and its composition of eleven official members, including the High Commissioner, and of twelve elected members would generally have given the official section the control, since Moslems, Christians, and Jews would seldom have worked together. Nevertheless, there is no basis for the argument that the Jews would really have been in a majority or that the official members would always have supported them. In the same way, if the suggested constitution of a second nominated Advisory Council and of the formation of an Arab Agency left a good deal to be desired, the Arab refusal to accept these proposals has harmed the cause which that refusal was intended to further.

Land and things appertaining to the land are vitally important, and here the Arabs contend that they are being deprived of their agricultural possessions and being pushed out of the country. This is untrue, for they are the willing sellers, usually at high prices, and even now the Jews possess at most 9 per cent. of the land fit for cultivation, approximately half of this having been purchased before and half since the War. Also, whereas otherwise such sales might, and probably would, place the peasant tenant or occupier at a disadvantage, the 'Transfer of Land Ordinance,' issued soon after the arrival of Sir Herbert Samuel, actually protects his position. That regulation requires that all sales should have the consent of the Government, and it lays down that, in cases where there are tenants, the seller must

provide these tenants with land or financial compensation sufficient to maintain them and their families.

The distribution of governmental employment is a third and unreasonable cause of Arab discontent. Here we find that, with the solution of many of the initial problems, the number of British officials is rightly being cut down and that there are now only 196 of them, excluding the officers of the police, the gendarmerie, and the officials of the railways. Of the 2265 Palestinians, 855 are Christians, 914 are Moslems, and 496 are Jews. This leaves the Moslems at a disadvantage in relation to the strength of that element of the population; but, if it places the Jews in a specially favourable position, this advantage is even greater in the case of the Christians, who are for the most part Arabs. But the matter cannot be judged merely upon the basis of figures, and the nature of the various employments and the qualifications required for them have to be taken into account. For these reasons, as many of the best Arabs have refused to serve, as the Jews have capacities, which are well known, and as the Christians are better educated than their Moslem co-nationals, the Government could not and cannot for the present avoid making what at first sight might seem an unfavourable distribution of its patronage.

But if the Arabs do not recognise the general advantages with which they are now provided, there are two directions in which that element of the population may have reason for complaint. The great majority of the inhabitants have a primitive outlook upon life and are accustomed to old-time conditions. That population and its leaders might, therefore, well argue, though I did not hear it said, that, owing to the establishment of the Mandate and to the presence and coming of the Jews, who are much more advanced than the native elements of the community, the Government is trying too quickly to raise the standard of civilisation to a level which is not necessary to the great bulk of the people, and that, in order to accomplish this object, the expenditure and the taxes are higher than can be afforded by the majority of the inhabitants. And the Arabs might say that the coming to Palestine of numerous Jews and their provision with large amounts of Jewish

capital have subjected them to severe competition, and that, instead of being helped to meet that competition, they (the Arabs) have been left to rely upon their own resources at a time when the country is still suffering from the effects of the War. It may, or it may not, be the duty of the Government to take special measures for this purpose; but considering that Palestine is an agricultural country, and seeing the much larger amounts spent upon some of the other Departments, a budget of only about £E35,000 per annum for Agriculture and Forests seems an all too modest one. It means that the work of that Department is largely preventive, and that whereas certain demonstrations and propaganda have been undertaken, and loans have been granted, very little annual assistance is given to enable the native population to improve its methods of cultivation and to acquire the knowledge which is necessary in the case of live stock.

So much has already been written in favour of and against Zionism that I propose to confine myself here to a discussion of certain facts connected with the Jewish position and to a description of some of the work done by that race. Between the first of September 1920 and the end of February 1925, over 46,000 Jews entered or returned to the country, and since the occupation probably 6,000,000% of Jewish capital has been invested in Palestine. Somewhat over 100,000 acres of land, at a cost of about 1,000,000% have been purchased by the various organisations interested in that object; 1,000,000% has been spent upon the establishment of industries; about 500,000% was devoted to the relief of orphans soon after the War; and perhaps 3,500,000% has been allocated to colonisation, education, and other purposes.

The most controversial aspects of the subject concern the number and the kind of colonists permitted to enter the country, the arrangements made for their coming, and their success after they have arrived. Nobody whom I have met disputes the question that, given better organisation and cultivation, Palestine can accommodate more than its present population; therefore, the first problem for discussion is immigration. That question is in the hands of the Permits Section of the Secretariat, which Section is responsible for the

number of immigrants allowed to enter the country—a number governed by the state of the labour market at the time.* These immigrants include people in possession of 500l. or of an assured income of 60l. per year, experts in various trades, and the ordinary class of immigrant. No real limit is placed upon the first three groups, but in the case of the last-named a schedule is drawn up by the Permits Section, after consultation with various authorities, and this schedule is sent to the Zionist Organisation which undertakes to provide the defined number of immigrants. Subsequently, British Consuls are instructed to grant the required number of visas to people recommended by the local branches of the Zionist Organisation. When the immigrants arrive, usually at Jaffa or Haifa, governmental and Zionist representatives take careful steps to see that the newcomers conform to the regulations, and the Department of Health carries out the measures necessary to prevent the importation of disease.

The Jews, who already inhabit and those who enter the country, belong to a variety of types and classes. Some are extremely religious;† others, though they have rejected the letter retain the spirit of their religion; while there are some who assume an intermediary attitude in these respects. Oriental Jews come from Persia and Iraq; modern young men and women enter from the United States and Great Britain; and many of these are university graduates, who may be engaged upon work for which they have been trained, but in some cases are merely manual labourers. Some of these immigrants are very poor, others are well-to-do; but in 1924 there was a notably increased immigration of persons of independent means, and in the second half of that year unemployment among Jews was inappreciable. In general, it may be said that at least one-half of the present Jewish population has come from Eastern Europe, that the majority possess progressive political views, without being Communistic, and that, whereas about one-fourth of the population is settled upon the

* About 13,500 immigrants entered in 1924, as against about 7900 in 1923, when unemployment among Jews was extensive.

† In the case of a ship which I boarded at Jaffa, ten passengers refused to disembark because the day was a Saturday.

land, the remaining three-fourths live in the larger towns, such as Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, Haifa, or Tiberias, where they find employment in industry, as merchants, or in other directions to which they are accustomed.

Although not more than 20,000 to 25,000 Jews are engaged in agriculture, the movement to the land is the primary object of Zionism, and it is the most interesting aspect of that problem. Funds for land purchase and for the equipment of the settlers have been subscribed from all over the world, and the extent and rapidity of the colonisation depend upon the amount of those funds, rather than upon an overcrowding of the country or upon any difficulty in land purchase. Some of the immigrants already possess a knowledge of farming, gained by ordinary work in their former homes or as a result of instruction given under the auspices of the Chaluz (Pioneer) Movement in Central and Eastern Europe,* and others work on Palestinian farms or become members of a co-operative group before they undertake individual cultivation. There is no one method of colonisation and the various systems often overlap in a single colony; but for convenience the existing settlements, which number about 100, may be divided into three classes: namely, farmers' colonies, small-holders' colonies, and co-operative colonies. Farmers' colonies—such as Richon, where the famous wine is made, or Petah-Tikvah, to the north-east of Jaffa—are practically, if not entirely, confined to those founded before the War and established or furthered by the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association. The land is generally freehold, or in course of becoming freehold; and, although the farms would not be large in England, paid labour is often employed. A small-holders' colony, such as Kefar Yeheskiel or Nahalal, in the Plain of Esdraelon, possesses certain distinctive features. If the colony has been established by the Zionist Organisation the land belongs to the Jewish National Fund, the money for starting the various tenants on that land having been furnished by the Palestine Immigration and Colonisation Fund, which is the financial instrument of the Zionist Organisation. In this kind of colony, whilst the holdings are worked as individual properties, no

* Mr Leonard Stein gives details of this work in his book 'Zionism.'

family is supposed to have a greater area than it can cultivate without paid labour, and co-operation is employed for buying and selling, and for machinery and other things which are expensive. Co-operative colonies, of which a number have been inaugurated by the Zionist Organisation, and of which Ain Harod, to the south-east of Nazareth, may be taken as an extreme example, are worked upon Communistic lines. Buying, selling, cultivating, eating, and living are done upon that basis; the majority of the colonists live in dormitories, and the whole of the inhabitants eat in a common dining-room.

The great questions about the colonies are as to the kind of establishment likely to be the most satisfactory and permanent, and as to whether all or any of the settlements are or will be self-supporting. In this connexion, Sir Herbert Samuel tells us that experiments are being made in many directions; but it seems to me that farmers' colonies are not practicable upon a large scale, and that, owing to the capital required, they can only exist under the auspices of somebody like Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The small-holders' colonies must make a favourable impression, for they are carefully planned, nicely planted with trees, and well cultivated. The co-operative colony costs less to found, and its inmates do not require as great an individual knowledge of farming. On the other hand, people from various countries of origin may not continue to work together for the common good, and some of the principles adopted, especially the upbringing of the children on the responsibility of the colony and not of parents, seem likely to react to the future detriment of the nation. For these reasons it appears that the co-operative settlements are on their economic and educational trial, and that, for those determined to make the land their permanent occupation, the small-holders' colony is the type the most likely to gain general acceptance.

Opinion is divided in Palestine and elsewhere upon the financial success of the Jewish agricultural policy, which probably entails an expenditure of about 1000*l.* for the establishment of each colonist and family, and the positions of the different settlements vary enormously. Many of the long-time existing villages are now comparatively prosperous, and whilst schools, medical

attendance, and certain other things are usually supported by outside funds, I believe that very few, if any, of even the newer colonists receive an actual dole in order to enable them to live. Nobody, however, can pretend that the less successful agriculturalists pay either a rent for their lands or an interest upon the money provided for their equipment. This leaves a good deal to be desired; but in a new country a colonist generally gets land for practically nothing and secures loans upon easy terms. Moreover, the Jews of the world are prepared to provide money for what is to many of them a great ideal, and, so long as no annual subsidy is required, they are willing to sacrifice capital for the creation of a Jewish agricultural peasant class and for the consolidation of the Zionist position, which means so much to those who advocate the creation of the Jewish National Home.

Two further questions are worthy of mention in connexion with the Jewish position in Palestine. I refer to the various measures which are being taken for the betterment of the people and the country, and to the birth and development of Tel-Aviv. With regard to the first of these matters, 100,000*l.* per year—that is, about the same amount as is spent by the Government—is devoted to education; the Hadassah or Medical Organisation attends to the health of the people, and various educational and experimental stations have been established. At the outbreak of the War Tel-Aviv, which was founded in 1909, was made up of 182 houses; it had a population of 2000, and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of road were in existence. During the last year and a half the population, which at present amounts to over 30,000 souls, has doubled itself; there are now about 2500 houses, which have been completed at the average rate of two a day, and roughly 50 miles of streets have been constructed. On the debit side of the page, the creation and existence of such a place will be an encouragement to Jews to settle there instead of going upon the land. Furthermore, as the work of construction is obviously carried out to a great extent on the basis of advances, loans, and mortgages, any serious financial crisis in Palestine, or even among the Jews of the world, would have its enormous dangers for those interested in this mushroom

city. Again, whilst employment has been plentiful in the recent past, largely owing to briskness in the building trade, that boom cannot last for ever, and it is difficult to see whence the support will come for so big a community unless it is financed from abroad. On the credit side, the marvellous development of Tel-Aviv, with its Jewish mayor, its Jewish council, and its Jewish police, proves that the Jews are capable not only of profiting by what others have done, but of creating something entirely new, and this is of immense sentimental and moral value to a nation now re-established more or less on its own foundations.

In the foregoing pages, I have endeavoured to outline the recent history of Palestine and to describe the existing situation, thereby, I hope, suggesting to, and preparing my readers for, the changes and developments likely to take place in the future. When we come to details, these changes and developments may be grouped into three classes—financial, economic, and political. The fundamental factor in the financial position concerns the difficulty of supporting a decent Government and of doing what is absolutely necessary for the people with the money available. Much has been accomplished, but, although there is a surplus of revenue over expenditure, and although expenses have already been cut down, further reductions will have to be made because, sooner or later, it will be necessary to meet the charges for certain assets, such as railways taken over at the inauguration of the Civil régime. In the opinion of the writer, the District Administration, estimated to cost £E93,000 per year, is too heavy, considering the work it has to do; and, with the completion of a proper survey, a definite registration of titles and possible reforms in the system of taxation—particularly the tithe, which is expensive to collect—considerable economies should here be made. More of the Government offices might be combined, thereby saving the salaries of several of the higher-paid functionaries, and certain of the departments might be administered by necessarily experienced directors, assisted by fewer and perhaps less qualified subordinates than those at present employed. Also, at the present time Public Security, including police, pensions, and Palestinian Gendarmerie, costs about

£E268,000 per year, in addition to the £E192,000 paid by the Home Government as the grant-in-aid for the British Gendarmerie. Tranquillity and safety are all-important, but as even these forces would be insufficient against a determined external attack, this charge seems altogether too heavy a burden for a country with a total revenue of only approximately £E1,820,000. Moreover, whereas the sum involved is much smaller and its work is a matter of vital significance, £E82,000 per year is a considerable budget for the Department of Public Health, especially as bare necessities must take first place, and a great deal is already being done by numerous hospitals and charitable institutions which exist for the benefit of the people at large.

When we come to the economic situation, it remains to be seen whether the present fiscal system, which amounts to a combination of certain specific duties with those *ad valorem*, should be maintained, or whether the import charges upon the materials required for many of the new industries can be simplified or reduced in such a way as to facilitate the development of those industries. The minerals contained in the waters of the Dead Sea are to be exploited, the hot springs at Tiberias are to be developed, and it is said that Jerusalem is to have the new hotel of which it is in very bad need. Until now there has been no local currency; the notes and coins in use having been furnished from Egypt. This has had the advantages of maintaining the stability of the exchange; but the disadvantages arising from the high value of the coinage in question. It has now been decided that Palestine shall have her own monetary system, notes being issued by the Official Currency Board in London under cover of securities to be held there.*

In addition to the much required electric power, to be provided under the Rutenberg schemes, which will alter the whole economic system, there are two proposals for the betterment of trade and the increase of prosperity in the country, namely, those for the construction of a harbour and for the improvement and expansion of

* For details see Sir Herbert Samuel's Report and 'The Times,' Feb. 6, 1925.

railways. The harbour question is far-reaching; for whilst there is severe rivalry between Jaffa and Haifa, each of which towns possesses claims to attention, the adoption of an adequate scheme, or schemes, will cost a great deal of money. In spite of the fact that goods cannot be embarked or disembarked owing to the state of the weather on a great many days of the year, Jaffa at present does more trade than Haifa, largely because it is the natural port of Jerusalem, and because of the proximity of many orange groves. But whereas this is practically an open coast town, with a very dangerous reef close to the existing quay, Haifa has the advantage of a certain natural protection. Consequently, whilst the facilities at Jaffa, particularly the quay facilities, ought to be improved, as they probably will be improved as a result of the recommendations of a Commission which was considering the question at the time of my visit, the Government seems to be right in favouring the construction of a deep water harbour for Palestine at Haifa. That place has a larger natural hinterland than Jaffa, and, with the improvement of internal communications, that hinterland may well include not only Transjordan, but parts of Syria and Mesopotamia.

Several projects for railway construction and improvement are under discussion. The most important of these is one for the extension of the present line northwards from Haifa and Acre to the Syrian frontier, where it would join a proposed French railway destined to run along the coast by way of Beyrout to Tripoli. The provision of this link, only the shorter part of which falls in British territory, would establish direct normal gauge communication between Calais and Cairo, except for the breaks at the Bosphorus and the Suez Canal; and it would transfer a good deal of traffic, especially tourist traffic, which now goes by sea from Egypt to Beyrout, on to the Palestine railways. At the Egyptian end of the system, managed by the Palestinian Authorities, a project is under debate for diverting the western part of the main line across the desert to Port Said, where facilities for traversing the Canal would be better than at Kantara, the present terminus. This would improve the communications with Europe, but slightly lengthen the journey to Cairo. And, lastly, there is a scheme for

altering the route of the main line to and from Haifa, which now goes by way of Lydda (Ludd), in such a manner that it would pass through Tel-Aviv and Jaffa and some of the Jewish colonies in that neighbourhood. This plan, upon which the Zionists are extremely keen, has a further material advantage that it would increase the general traffic and improve the railway communications between Jaffa and Haifa without seriously interfering with those from Haifa to Jerusalem.

Turning to politics and to the future situation, all fair-minded people, however much they are opposed to the Balfour Declaration and to the terms of the Mandate arising out of it, have recognised that Sir Herbert Samuel has been fair and just, and for this reason his departure is generally regretted. But the appointment of Lord Plumer, who has gained great experience and done excellent work at Malta, carries with it the open 'dezionisation' of the Administration, it should give the Arab inhabitants a new confidence, and it provides the leaders of that community with a favourable opportunity of putting an end to their policy of obstruction without losing prestige with their more ignorant supporters. Will those leaders endeavour to complicate the position and exploit the moment to the still further disadvantages of the cause they purport to represent; or will they take the opportunity to work with a Government which has already provided the population with widespread advantages? In the former case there will be a renewed, and perhaps an increased, agitation based upon the unjustifiable idea that, with a Christian High Commissioner, there may be a chance of securing concessions which could not be obtained from Sir Herbert Samuel, and that now is the moment to try to obtain far-reaching changes in the terms of the Balfour Declaration or of the Mandate itself. This agitation would take the form of protests against the Palestine Order in Council of 1922, and especially against the composition and powers of the Legislative Council established under that Order. Such a policy can only result in the prolongation of the Administration in its present or a more conservative form; for neither His Majesty's Government, Lord Plumer, nor anybody else can gratify the extreme claims of the Arabs without stultifying the

whole of British policy connected with Palestine. Alternatively, if the Arabs recognise the present favourable chance, their bona-fide acceptance of the new situation and their real co-operation with the Government, their acceptance and their co-operation being demonstrated by a willingness on the part of the best men to serve in the administration and by a termination of the opposition heretofore existing, would enable the new High Commissioner to adopt constitutional measures which were impossible to his predecessor. In a country like Palestine, nobody knows the real strengths of the various political parties or the precise programmes of which they are severally in favour. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the principles of the 'National Party,' many members of which have already done good work by supporting the Government without approving of the Jewish position, will attract sufficient adherents to insure at least a temporary Arab acceptance, even under protest, of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate which have been approved by the Allies, by the United States of America, and by the League of Nations.

To recapitulate and to conclude, it may be said that Sir Herbert Samuel was entitled when leaving Palestine to feel that its condition was much better and that the people are far more contented than at the time of his arrival. From the economic standpoint, a great deal remains to be done, and there is still a difference of roughly three-and-a-half million pounds between the annual worth of the imports and exports of the country. That disadvantageous surplus of imports over exports is partly compensated for by money coming from abroad, and particularly by the capital provided by the Zionists and by the charitable organisations interested in Palestine; but efforts must be made to increase the improvement shown in the value of the exports between 1920 and 1924. Politically speaking, however unpopular are the Balfour Declaration and the special position of the Jews, a British Mandate and the presence of the British in Palestine are not in opposition to the wishes of the vast majority of the people. The Arabs are, and will continue, discontented with the admission of the new Jewish population rather than with the presence of the Jewish community, which has existed for years; but

this discontent is largely due to the attitude of the professional politicians, who unfortunately retain their influence over the more ignorant sections of the population. It is too early yet to say what may be the effect of the discord which prevailed during the 14th Zionist Congress held in Vienna at the end of August, but those responsible for the Jewish policy of the future must remember that widespread harm was done by the declarations of the agitators a few years ago and that everything is to be gained by moderation. The regeneration of the country is furthered and facilitated by the Zionist effort and by Zionist money, and, were it not for this assistance, the British would either have to withdraw from Palestine or the home taxpayer would be called upon to shoulder a greater financial responsibility than that which falls to his lot. If the Government can bring an increasing prosperity and the extremists on both sides may be persuaded to avoid excesses, these developments should work wonders towards the solution of many an economic difficulty and the healing of many a sore political difference. Unjustifiable complaints against a vastly improved situation are merely vexatious. Constructive criticism, combined with honest support, should have early good results.

H. CHARLES WOODS.

Art. 11.—THE APOSTLES IN ROME.

1. *Petrus and Paulus in Rom.* By Hans Lietzmann. Bonn, 1915.
2. *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums.* By Eduard Meyer. Stuttgart and Berlin: Cotta, 1923.
3. *Essays in Early Christian History.* By Elmer Truesdell Merrill. Macmillan, 1924.
4. *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.* Rome, 1923.
And other works.

It is a welcome sign of the times that the early history of the Christian Church and its relations with the Imperial Government of Rome should attract increasing attention from students of the Early Empire. Thirty-five years ago a famous article by Mommsen brought the problem of the legal basis of the persecutions of the Church into the foreground, and stimulated Dr E. G. Hardy to publish an admirable treatise on the subject,* to which all who are interested in the matter must still turn, although the writings of Sir William Ramsay and a host of other scholars, English and foreign, have thrown fresh light on some aspects of the question. But the criticism of the narratives of the Apostolic preaching in the West, which led to the clash between Empire and Church, has been in the main left to the theologians, since the extra-canonical sources called for a special study for which historians mainly concerned with the vast mass of fresh inscriptional material available for the reconstruction of the Imperial administrative system could not spare the time. In quite recent times, however, the problem has been attacked from the historical side by two scholars whose works are named at the head of this article, and with surprisingly discordant results. Prof. Eduard Meyer, who in his study of general ancient history is approaching the unification of the Mediterranean world by Rome, has written a critical account of the beginnings of Christianity on an ample scale; and he expresses the following view (vol. III, p. 500):

‘In any case Peter, the rock of the Church, wielded apostolic authority in Rome for a considerable length of

* ‘Christianity and the Roman Government,’ ed. 2, 1905.

time; all the probabilities are in favour of his having been already there when Paul arrived in Rome in the spring of A.D. 62.'

Prof. Merrill, on the other hand, concludes his study with the following pronouncement (p. 332):

'The end of the present task has thus been reached. The late (and perfectly ingenuous) origin of the belief that connected St Peter with Rome has been pointed out, along with the gradual accretion thereto of additional details, more of them the longer the time that had elapsed since the alleged events concerned. The story bears every mark of a myth. It is entirely lacking in support by historical evidence. The only reason why it has not been universally rejected by all competent scholars except those who are bound on their allegiance to accept and support it, is merely that it has come to be a doctrine so tremendously imposing by the age-long repetition of millions of voices, and by the grandeur of the structure that has been erected upon it.'

No one can read these passages in juxtaposition without feeling that the canons of historical criticism used by students of the Græco-Roman period must lack the fixity and ease of application which the historian requires.

It is easy to agree with Prof. Merrill in much that he writes on the necessity of a critical attitude in face of traditional statements. That those who practise the 'inductive' method in order to reconstruct the history of a period from later conditions are tempted to ignore the hypothetical character of their results and the possibility that other theories may explain the known facts, to make the most of scraps of evidence of relatively late date, and to postulate the existence of a trustworthy oral tradition (forgetting that the *onus probandi* rests on those who assume it) no one will deny. That 'no amount of repetition by later writers adds any value to a statement if each successive writer had apparently nothing but the statement of his predecessor or predecessors upon which to found his own' is a truism. But that the early Christians were 'for the most part very simple and uneducated folk,' interested not in history but in propaganda, is scarcely a half-truth; for Prof. Merrill does not question the fact that under the Flavian dynasty

the new religion found adherents in the Imperial household, and the Acts of the Apostles, at any rate, is the work of a trained historical writer (as Eduard Meyer, summing up the results of much recent research, is at pains to emphasise), and was in all probability intended for the use of Romans of rank and education. Prof. Merrill does well, however, to set out the texts with which the historical critic must deal in their chronological sequence—allowing for the doubts which inevitably arise with regard to documents whose date and authorship are themselves objects of dispute—and in general to leave out of account those which are later than the date (let us say A.D. 200) at which the connexion of SS. Peter and Paul with the Church in Rome may be said to have acquired a vested interest, and (as the luxuriant crop of legend garnered in the Pseudo-Clementine literature too plainly shows) the imagination of the faithful ran riot unchecked by the historical sense.

So much being granted, we find it hard to take the next step with Prof. Merrill, who subjects each of the documents and passages with which he is concerned to an investigation conducted in the spirit of a counsel cross-examining a hostile witness, with a view to showing that, taken severally, they are patient of an explanation differing from that placed upon them by the upholders of the Christian tradition. Now, it is true that the historian must always exercise caution in estimating the value of cumulative evidence. He must not merely sum the weights of slight probabilities in order to turn his scales. Rather he should seek for the general principle which gives greatest coherence to the facts as interpreted, and herein lies the test of his critical judgment. He should, moreover, be quick to note whether the progress of research in independent fields—e.g. the criticism of documents and the study of archaeological material—tends to convergent results. Prof. Merrill seems to fall short in both respects. The hypothesis which governs his criticism of the documents—viz. that the connexion of St Peter with the Christian community in Rome was an interested invention of about A.D. 150—is in itself gratuitous and leads to a strained interpretation of the evidence; and as he is not

an archæologist, he does not attach to the results of excavation the importance which they merit.*

Let us deal first with the literary tradition. It may probably be assumed that St Paul's presence in Rome is sufficiently attested by the narrative of Acts, the subject of which is the 'march on Rome' of the new religion. We need not, therefore, examine the ingenious web of theories which recent critics have spun round the Pastoral Epistles, which they suppose to have grown about a nucleus supplied by genuine fragments of St Paul's private letters, written at various times and places during his closing years. Nor is it necessary to discuss the question of the Apostle's release and subsequent retrial, and his supposed visit to Spain. But we may note in passing that while Eduard Schwartz wrote in 1907 that the execution of St Paul in A.D. 57 or 58 was 'a certain and indubitable fact,'† Meyer, taking as his starting-point the proconsulate of Gallio, which is fixed by an inscription found at Delphi to A.D. 51-52, argues cogently for the arrival of the Apostle in Rome in A.D. 62, so that the period of two years named in the closing verse of Acts ends in A.D. 64, the date of the Neronian persecution.

The canonical writings give us much less help with regard to the later life of St Peter. The First Epistle which bears his name has naturally passed through the fires of the higher criticism, and to assume its genuineness in controversy argues a lack of caution. Yet this is just what Prof. Merrill does, because it suits his book to take 'Babylon'—whence the epistle is professedly written—in the literal sense, which seems very unlikely.‡ In Acts we hear nothing of the later years of his ministry. The tradition that he went to Rome in

* It is fair to say that he speaks of the discoveries in the Catacomb of Domitilla as affording a 'stronger witness than the solitary affirmation in Eusebius' to her membership of the Christian Church (p. 168), but this utterance stands almost alone. Meyer is, of course, no specialist in archæology; but he attaches full weight to the evidence of excavation (to be mentioned later) regarding the burial-place of the Apostles (vol. III, p. 498*n.*).

† 'Nachrichten der göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,' 1907, p. 284.

‡ The Jewish use of 'Babylon' = Rome is found in the passage relating to Nero in the fifth book of the 'Sibylline Oracles' and in the Apocalypse known as '2 Baruch.' Both probably belong to the first century A.D.

the reign of Claudius, as well as that of his twenty-five years' episcopate, we may dismiss from our consideration. They are an outgrowth of the legend of Simon Magus in Rome, which took its origin (as modern scholars have seen) from the misreading of an inscription by Justin Martyr, and may date in its fully-developed form from the time of Hippolytus.

There can, however, be little doubt that to the Christians of the sub-apostolic age SS. Peter and Paul were linked together as the founders of the Christian Church in Rome. The writers whom we shall have to take into account are the author of the 'First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians' (let us not prejudge the question of his identity or date); Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who was put to death in Rome in the later years of Trajan; Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, where he was martyred at the age of eighty-six in A.D. 155 or 156; and his pupil Irenæus, who when a presbyter at Lyons was sent on a mission to Rome during the papacy of Eleutherus (A.D. 177-193), and afterwards returned to his Church as Bishop.

Prof. Merrill makes a vigorous onslaught on the traditional ascription of the first-named document to St Clement of Rome, who occupies the third place in the list of the successors of St Peter (though Tertullian, it is true, says that he was ordained Bishop by the Apostle himself). He even goes so far as to question the historical existence of St Clement the Bishop. In the 'Shepherd' of Hermas, for the date of which we have no direct evidence save the statement in the so-called 'Muratorian fragment' on the Canon that it was written by a brother of Pope Pius I (A.D. 142-157), the recipient of the visions is directed to make a copy for 'Clement, who will send it to the cities abroad, since that is his function'; and Prof. Merrill makes the suggestion (which has nothing to commend it) that the name of this secretary of the Roman Church was attached to an anonymous epistle, and actually inserted in the list of Roman bishops! It is difficult to square this with the facts without doing violence to all probability. The Epistle of Clement was certainly known to and used by Polycarp; and Irenæus, evidently referring to it, says that it was written 'when Clement was Bishop, the third after Peter and Paul had

founded the Church and made Linus bishop—Clement, who had seen the Blessed Apostles and consorted with them'; and since Polycarp was (presumably) a younger contemporary of Clement, and Irenæus was Polycarp's pupil, it seems unreasonable to reject so precise a statement. Moreover, the internal evidence of the Epistle points to an early date. The author speaks of a persecution in which many Christians lost their lives; but this is clearly that of Nero, since he calls to the mind of his readers 'noble examples belonging to our own generation' of those who 'contended unto death,' amongst whom he places foremost 'the good Apostles,' Peter and Paul, who 'bore their testimony' and went to their place of glory, and goes on to speak of the 'vast multitude of the elect which was gathered unto them, suffering many indignities and tortures.' On the other hand, his attitude to the civil power is, as Harnack says, 'objective,' and there has as yet been no irreparable breach with the Imperial Government. These conditions would be satisfied by the traditional date of Clement's episcopate (A.D. 91-96), but of course no stress should be laid on this fact. The *cognomen* 'Clemens' is a common one, and it is no more than a conjecture that it may have been borne by a freedman of Flavius Clemens, the cousin of Domitian and husband of his niece Domitilla.

We come next to Ignatius. Whilst on his journey as a prisoner from Antioch to Rome he wrote from Smyrna certain letters, which may reasonably be accepted as genuine, to the Churches of Ephesus, Tralles, and Rome. In the first he writes, 'I issue no commands to you as though I were "some one"'; in the second, 'I am not so self-important as to issue commands to you as an Apostle, being a condemned criminal'; to the Romans, however, he writes, 'I issue no commands to you ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος. They were Apostles, I am a condemned criminal.' Prof. Merrill may be right in his contention that the Greek words mean, not 'as Peter and Paul did,' but 'as though I were a Peter and a Paul.' But even so it is surely natural to regard the introduction of the names as due to the well-known fact that they were the joint founders of the Roman Church.

The testimony of Irenæus has been cited above

à propos of the authorship of the First Epistle of Clement. There can, at any rate, be no doubt as to his beliefs. For him Peter and Paul were the joint founders of the Church in Rome, and the succession of the bishops who followed them, beginning with Linus, is fixed beyond doubt.* It has to be remembered that Irenæus was a disciple of Polycarp, whose life spanned the gap between the reign of Nero and that of Antoninus Pius. From the lips of Polycarp he heard stories of Jesus' life and sayings which the venerable Bishop of Smyrna had derived from those who had 'seen the Lord'; and as communications between the outlying Christian communities and the capital of the Empire were constant, it is not to be doubted that Polycarp would be familiar with the story of the Early Roman Church. Prof. Merrill, however, propounds a theory of his own to explain the appearance in the writings of Irenæus of a list of Roman bishops. About the middle of the second century A.D. a converted Palestinian Jew named Hegesippus, a fervent propagandist of the new faith, who was especially concerned to establish the 'fixed tradition of the Apostolic preaching,' travelled from East to West in order to collect historical material, which he embodied in five volumes of 'Records.' He spoke of his visit to Corinth, where he was shown 'a notable letter which had come from Rome,' doubtless the First Epistle of Clement, which, as Dionysius (Bishop of Corinth about A.D. 170) tells us, used to be 'read in Church' in that city. In Rome he compiled a 'Succession of Bishops' down to Anicetus, whose traditional date is A.D. 157-168;† and the theory of Prof. Merrill is that Hegesippus 'made up' the list, for which no trustworthy material existed in the shape of archives, in the interest of his favourite doctrine, and imposed it on succeeding

* The variation which appears in our sources with regard to the number assigned to Hyginus ('eighth' in some texts, 'ninth' in others) seems best accounted for by supposing that St Peter was by some included in and by others excluded from the list.

† The account of Hegesippus here given is probable, but not in all its details certain. Even the 'Succession' of Bishops depends on the accuracy of the MS. text of Eusebius (γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαδοχὴν ἐποίησάμην μέχρι Ἀνικητροῦ, where διατριβήν, 'residence,' has been suggested). That he came from Palestine is rendered probable by the fact that he displays special knowledge of the history of the Christian Church in Jerusalem.

generations. The following quotation will give a fair summary of his view (p. 228):

'Irenæus quotes the list of bishops of the Roman See as if in some way it was a guarantee of the secure preservation in Rome of the unimpaired apostolic doctrine. This is a precise repetition of the thought of Hegesippus. As Irenæus apparently borrowed the idea from Hegesippus, so also he probably took from him the list of the Roman bishops. But of course Irenæus may have got both idea and list from the Church in Rome on the occasion of his visit to the capital. But the Roman Church had them from Hegesippus.'

Neither the dogmatic assertion with which the passage closes, nor the slender probabilities suggested in the preceding sentences, inspire confidence in the doctrine which forms the keystone of Prof. Merrill's arch.*

In dealing with the relations of Christianity with the Imperial Government Prof. Merrill is at his best when he is combating the efforts of some modern theologians to clothe the skeleton of recorded fact with tissues of the historical imagination. Mr Edmundson's reconstruction of the genealogy of the Flavian Emperors and their connexions by marriage may, perhaps, be described as 'an agreeable historical diversion'; his attempt to show that St Clement, Bishop of Rome, was a brother-in-law of the Emperor Titus † is more ingenious than convincing; and if the scholarship of theologians is to be judged by Prof. Gwatkin's quotation of a sentence of Cicero's 'De Legibus' as from the Twelve Tables (Merrill, p. 67), it is certainly not adequate in respect of Roman law.

To show that the traditional account of the early persecutions found in Christian writers contains inconsistencies and inaccuracies is no doubt relevant to Prof. Merrill's main argument. We may agree that the *institutum Neronianum* mentioned in a famous passage of Tertullian is not to be construed as an enactment

* Prof. Merrill also lays the ascription of the Epistle to the Corinthian Church to 'Clement the Secretary,' mentioned in the 'Shepherd' of Hermas, at the door of Hegesippus; yet he believes the Epistle and the 'Shepherd' to be contemporary, and accepts the statement of the Muratorian fragment that 'Hermas' was the brother of Pius I. It is then surely incredible that Hegesippus should have taken the further step of elevating 'Clement the Secretary' into Clement the third bishop of Rome.

† 'The Church of Rome in the First Century,' pp. 235, 253f.

laying a permanent ban upon Christianity, and that the policy of the Government towards the Churches was 'opportunistic.' This is the result to which all recent historical criticism tends. But we cannot follow Prof. Merrill, for example, in his attempt to minimise the importance of Domitian's breach with the Christian community. There is a growing recognition that that Emperor persistently and insistently developed the cult, not merely of his deified predecessors, but of the whole Flavian house, in whose members ran the divine blood of Vespasian. Every deceased descendant of Vespasian, as the inscriptions show, bore the title *divus* or *diva* (including a daughter of the Emperor who died before his accession, though not his wife); the family residence on the Quirinal was turned into a *templum Flavie gentis*; and the piecing together of some recently found fragments of the Marble Plan of Rome has shown that Domitian constructed in the Campus Martius (partly on the site now occupied by the Palazzo di Venezia) a magnificent *Porticus Divorum* in which chapels were assigned to Vespasian and Titus.* All this was, of course, part of the strongly 'dynastic' policy which the upstart family of the Flavians felt bound to pursue in order to consolidate their position; and we can well imagine the wrath of Domitian when he learned that a religion which could make no facile compromise with the apotheosis of the Emperors was gaining adherents in his own house, amongst them his sister's daughter Flavia Domitilla, who by her marriage with her cousin Flavius Clemens was the mother of the two boys already designated as the heirs of the Imperial throne and placed under the tuition of Quintilian. There can be no reasonable doubt that the 'atheism' with which she and her husband were charged was the treasonable refusal of conformity to the Imperial cult which the practice of Christianity entailed. The context of the abridgment of Dio Cassius' narrative on which we here depend suggests that the practice of Judaism was the *gravamen* of the charge; but it is easy to see how this

* I believe that a beautiful relief now in the Louvre, representing an Emperor sacrificing, which was found near S. Marco, belonged to the 'High Altar' of this building. It is reproduced in my 'Companion to Roman History,' pl. 50. The features of the Emperor have been restored.

confusion may have arisen in the mind of Dio or more probably in that of the writer from whom he drew his account; and even Prof. Merrill admits that the inscriptions discovered in what was in later times known as the *cœmeterium Domitillæ* prove that land for a Christian cemetery was granted by her on her estate beside the Via Ardeatina. Dio names the *grand seigneur* M'. Acilius Glabrio, who had been the colleague of the future Emperor Trajan as consul for the year A.D. 91, among Domitian's victims, and it is surely more than a coincidence that one of the earliest of the Christian cemeteries, the 'Catacomb of Priscilla,' has been proved to be situated on the property of the Acilii Glabriones, and to contain a crypt in which Christian members of that house were buried in the second century.* We may take it, therefore, that Christianity was making converts in the court circles of Domitian in the last decade of the first century; and that a community which drew its members from all ranks of society should possess, if not 'archives,' at any rate a lively recollection of its founders and their successors in office, if hard to prove, is surely still harder to disbelieve. The two-volume work on the origin and spread of Christianity which we know as the 'Gospel according to St Luke' and the 'Acts of the Apostles' seems to have been written with a special eye to the members of the governing class, though the suggestion recently made by Canon Streeter ('The Four Gospels,' p. 535) that 'Theophilus' may have been Flavius Clemens, must remain a pure conjecture.

There can also be small doubt that it was Domitian who initiated the repressive measures employed against the Christians by provincial governors, especially in the more important centres of the Imperial cult. Irenæus is quoted by Eusebius as saying that the Apocalypse was written at the close of the reign of Domitian; and there is a world of difference between its bitter denunciations

* It is unnecessary to criticise the tradition preserved by Eusebius with regard to the exile of another Domitilla by Domitian. Prof. Merrill pours scorn on the otherwise unknown historian 'Bruttius' whom Eusebius cited, and on those who conjecturally identify him with Præsens (who may have been one of the Bruttii Præsentes), a friend of the younger Pliny. But the whole question is best left open. Eduard Meyer (vol. III, p. 553) is disposed to accept Bruttius as a genuine writer.

of the Imperial Government and the 'objective' attitude of the earlier canonical writings, which is best accounted for by a recent attempt to enforce conformity at the point of the sword. There can be no mistake as to the meaning of 'Satan's throne,' as applied to Pergamum, the earliest and most important site of the Imperial worship in Asia, where 'Antipas my witness, my faithful one,' was slain.

This is not the place to pursue the later history of the relations between the Empire and the Christian communities. It is deeply to be regretted that we do not possess in its entirety the seventh book of Ulpian's treatise 'On the Duties of a Proconsul,'* which contained, amongst other things, the instructions issued by various Emperors to their representatives in the provinces for dealing with Christianity and other cults which, it was feared, might lead to disturbance and be subversive of the social order so rigidly maintained in an over-policed Empire. We should probably not have found in it the famous reply of Trajan to Pliny, his High Commissioner in Bithynia-Pontus, prescribing an opportunist policy and giving the governor every excuse for leniency; for Trajan expressly says that this was a case in which 'no general rule could be laid down'; but we should have had a welcome light thrown upon the rescript of Hadrian to Minicius Fundanus, governor of Asia, to which Prof. Merrill devotes a chapter, and the letter of Antoninus Pius to the assembly of the same province (of which he had himself been proconsul) which Harnack has shown to contain a genuine nucleus.† Both these documents exhibit the Emperors in a favourable light, and it is evident that, like Trajan, they regarded the danger to public order from the new faith as negligible, and did their best to discourage popular clamour against

* It is worth while to recall that we derive from this work the famous principle expressed by Trajan in the words 'it is better that the crime of the guilty should go unpunished than that the innocent should be condemned.'

† These were naturally passed over by the compilers of Justinian's 'Digest,' who were instructed to omit such of the classical law texts as were obsolete. The general principle upon which governors were required to act is given in the 'Sententiæ' of Julius Paulus (v, 20. 2): 'Qui novas sectas vel ratione incognitas religiones inducunt, ex quibus animi hominum moveantur, honestiores deportantur, humiliores capite puniuntur.'

the Christians. It is to be noted that the principal outbursts of fanaticism which led to the execution of Christians in this period took place in the centres where the worship of the Emperors was most fervently—or shall we say most pompously—practised, as at Carthage and Lyons and in the Province of Asia, where governors, anxious to pacify an ignorant mob (partly moved, no doubt, by economic self-interest), were ready to make use of their almost unlimited powers of exercising 'administrative justice' in order that their provinces might not gain a bad name for turbulence. We may, therefore, agree with Prof. Merrill that there was no systematic or continuous persecution of the Christians in the second century, without subscribing to his arguments in detail. He infers, for example, from the fact that Nero and Domitian are alone mentioned as persecuting Emperors by the Christian apologist, Melito, who was Bishop of Sardis in the early part of the reign of Marcus Aurelius and addressed his plea for the toleration of Christianity to that ruler, that he wrote in ignorance of the executions carried out by Pliny's orders in Bithynia under Trajan. Surely the names of Nero and Domitian were tactfully chosen by Melito—as also by his admirer Tertullian after him—because both those Emperors had suffered *damnatio memoriae*, and might safely incur the charge of tyranny.

It has been shown that there are no adequate grounds for supposing that the tradition of the Christian community in Rome, which traced its foundation to the Apostles Peter and Paul, was a pure fabrication; and this is as much as we can safely say. That St Peter was the first *bishop* of Rome, or even that he established a 'monarchical' episcopate in that city, the critical historian is not permitted to affirm.

Let us now consider the evidence which archaeological discoveries have brought to light with regard to the traditional burial-places of the two Apostles. This has been set forth in a closely-reasoned essay by Dr Lietzmann, who has dealt with more recent finds in the 'Harvard Theological Review'; and we now have, in the 'Notizie degli Scavi' for 1923, an official account of the supplementary excavations carried on at S. Sebastiano by the Department of Antiquities.

The great basilicas of S. Peter in *Vaticano* and S. Paul without the walls stand on the site of earlier shrines built by Constantine the Great after the Peace of the Church. It is fortunate that we possess certain records which throw light on the position and surroundings of the tombs over which they were built. When excavations were being made in 1626 of the four columns which sustain Bernini's *baldacchino* over the High Altar of S. Peter's, it was found that the tomb believed to be that of the Apostle lay in the midst of a burial-ground which the inscriptions, etc., showed to have been used, not by Christians, but by pagans. A similar state of affairs was revealed at S. Paolo by excavations which took place in 1834 and 1850 (the basilica itself was restored after its partial destruction by fire in 1823). The old church built by Constantine was much smaller than the great basilica begun, as a famous inscription tells us, by Theodosius the Great and completed by Honorius, for the builders were cramped by the necessity of respecting an ancient road, traces of which were found in the 19th century together with the remains of an unmistakably pagan burial-ground in the midst of which St Paul, as was believed, was laid to rest. It is clear that in the time of Constantine the sites must have been the object of an ancient and traditional veneration; and in fact we learn that about A.D. 200 'Gaius the presbyter' (who is perhaps to be identified with Hippolytus), replying to a Montanist who spoke of the grave of Philip of Hierapolis and his daughters as the holy place of his sect, triumphantly countered his opponent's claim by pointing to the 'trophies of the Apostles' on the Vatican and Ostian Ways. But there was a third site which was likewise hallowed in Christian tradition. The 'Calendar of Philocalus,' which in its final form dates from A.D. 354, and incorporates together with other material a list of celebrations connected with the burials of Roman bishops and martyrs beginning in the middle of the third century, has the following remarkable entry under the date June 29: 'Petri in Catacumbas, et Pauli Ostense. Tusco et Basso consulibus' (i.e. A.D. 258); and there is a somewhat fuller, but even more confused notice in a later document, the 'Martyrologium Hieronymianum,' under the same date: 'Romæ Via Aurelia

natale Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli: Petri in Vaticano, Pauli vero in via Ostiensi, utrumque in Catacumbas, passi sub Nerone, Basso et Tusco Consulibus.' Now, there can be no doubt as to the meaning of *in Catacumbas*, a name given to the cemetery surrounding the church of S. Sebastiano on the right of the Appian Way. But what are we to say of the date A.D. 258? All that we are entitled to affirm with confidence is that a liturgical celebration in honour of the Apostles on the Appian Way goes back to that date; but it is natural to go further and to assume that for some reason or another the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul were temporarily laid in the spot known as *ad Catacumbas* in the middle of the third century. Now, the church of S. Sebastiano occupies the site of an earlier building which even as late as the eighth century was known as the *ecclesia apostolorum* and is called *basilica apostolorum* in the Acts of St. Quirinus, the martyred Bishop of Siscia (Sissek in Croatia), whose remains were transferred thither when the barbarian invaders overran Pannonia towards the end of the fourth century A.D. This Basilica of the Apostles must be identified with the third of the three basilicæ built (according to the most probable reconstruction of the ungrammatical text of the 'Liber Pontificalis') by St Damasus (Pope in A.D. 366-384), namely, that which he set up 'in Catacumbis, ubi iacuerunt corpora beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in quo loco Platomam ipsam versibus exornavit.' The *Platoma* was a marble slab, and we are fortunate enough to possess a copy of St Damasus' verses, and, we may add, a small fragment of the original inscription, carved in the bold characters which Philocalus, the compiler of the 'Calendar of 354,' used in engraving the numerous verse-epitaphs set up by his patron in the Christian cemeteries. The lines run as follows:

'Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,
Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.
Discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur,
Sanguinis ob meritum Christum qui per astra secuti
Ætherios petiere sinus regnaque piorum:
Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives.
Hæc Damasus vestras referat, nova sydera, laudes.'

It cannot be said that clarity is the most conspicuous

merit of the poetry of St. Damasus; but the sense of the lines may be given as follows: Here dwelt the Saints aforetime, as thou must know, whosoever thou art that seekest the names of Peter and Paul. It was the East—we gladly admit it—that sent forth these disciples, who by the merit of their blood followed Christ to the stars and sought the depths of heaven and the realms of the pious: but Rome earned the right to claim them as her citizens by a higher title. Let Damasus recount your glories, ye new stars.

The poem is coloured by the great debate between East and West in which Damasus played a leading rôle as the protagonist of Papal claims; but we may dismiss at once the naïve legend, best known from a letter of St Gregory the Great to the Empress Constantina, that Jewish Christians endeavoured to carry off the bodies of the Apostles to Palestine at the time of their martyrdom and were defeated in open fight! It clearly arose from a quaint misunderstanding of St Damasus' text. It is not so easy to be sure of the meaning of *habitasse*, and it has been much disputed whether it refers to the abode of the Apostles when alive or to their resting-place in death, a use which can be paralleled from St Damasus' own poems. Here we must seek light from the excavations carried on in recent years.

Behind the apse of the *basilica* of S. Sebastiano is a roughly semicircular crypt, to which the name *Platonica* (which arises from a misspelling and misunderstanding of the *platoma* of the 'Liber Pontificalis') has been given. It is surrounded by arched niches adorned with paintings of which but faint traces remain, perhaps of the fourth century, and decorative stucco work which may be considerably earlier. In the centres, beneath the altar, is a structure in the form of a *bisomus* or double grave with a barrel vault, the sides of which are decorated in fresco with figures of the Apostles, while on one of the lunettes is represented the so-called *traditio legis*, in which Our Lord hands the Roll of the Law to a youthful figure, while a bearded figure stands by—a remarkable variant of the familiar scene in which St Peter—the New Moses—receives the roll in the presence of St Paul. Excavations undertaken in 1892-93 brought to light the fragments of a monumental inscription in honour of St

Quirinus running round the crypt; and it was at once recognised that this was the memorial referred to in the 'Salzburg Itinerary,' a guide-book for pilgrims, containing an entry which may be thus translated:

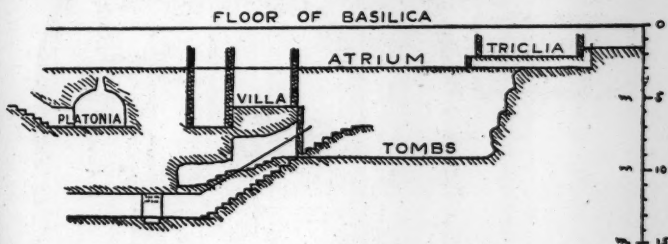
'Afterwards you will come by the Appian Way to St Sebastian the Martyr, whose body lies at a lower level, and there are the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul in which they rested forty years. And in the western part of the church you will descend by a stair to the place where St Cyrius, Pope and martyr, reposes.'

But what was to be said of the double tomb? Was this a memorial of the temporary resting-place of the Apostles?

The excavations of recent years have brought no final solution of the problem, but they have led to startling discoveries. In 1909 there was found in an apsidal chamber adjacent to the 'Platonia,' the inscription—not earlier in date than the fifth century—DOMVS PETRI; but it was pointed out that the 'house' might well be a tomb, as in the expression *domus martyris Hippolyti* found in an epitaph composed after the manner of St Damasus. At length in 1915 a determined effort to discover the site of the Apostolic memorial was made under the auspices of the Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archæology by Dr Paul Styger, who commenced excavations in the interior of the Church of S. Sebastiano, which were continued in the following year by the Italian Government, and carried on with interruptions until the end of 1919, with the co-operation of Orazio Marucchi, acting for the Pontifical Commission.

The results were remarkable. It appeared that the basilica was built in part on the edge of a tufa cliff, roughly semicircular in outline, which bordered a depression of about eight metres in depth. Hence was evidently derived the name *Catacumbæ*, a popular Latinisation of the Greek *κατὰ κύμβας*, 'in the hollows.' On the brow of the cliff stood a row of pagan *columbaria*, dating from the last quarter of the first century A.D.: in one of them a slave of the Emperor Vespasian had been buried. Immediately to the north of these are the remains of what is apparently a private residence or *villa*, built about A.D. 120; and it is possible that the 'Platonia,'

with its paved court-yard, originally formed part of this, as the level is almost the same (see Fig. below). At the foot of the cliff was a level space upon which opened three tombs, each with several chambers, cut in the face of the rock. The first two were originally designed as *columbaria*, perhaps about A.D. 100, but changed hands in the course of the second century and were converted into burial-vaults. The second came into the possession of a burial-club whose members were known as *Innocentii*, and the presence of the scratched inscription ITXΘYC, which combines the symbols of the fish and the cross, leaves no doubt that some at least of the associates were Christians. Signor Mancini, indeed, sees 'something indefinitely Christian' in the title of the guild, and suggests that *Innocentiorum* may be the genitive of the comparative *Innocentior* (which Marucchi more positively asserts). But this is wrong. *Innocentius* is already known from an inscrip-



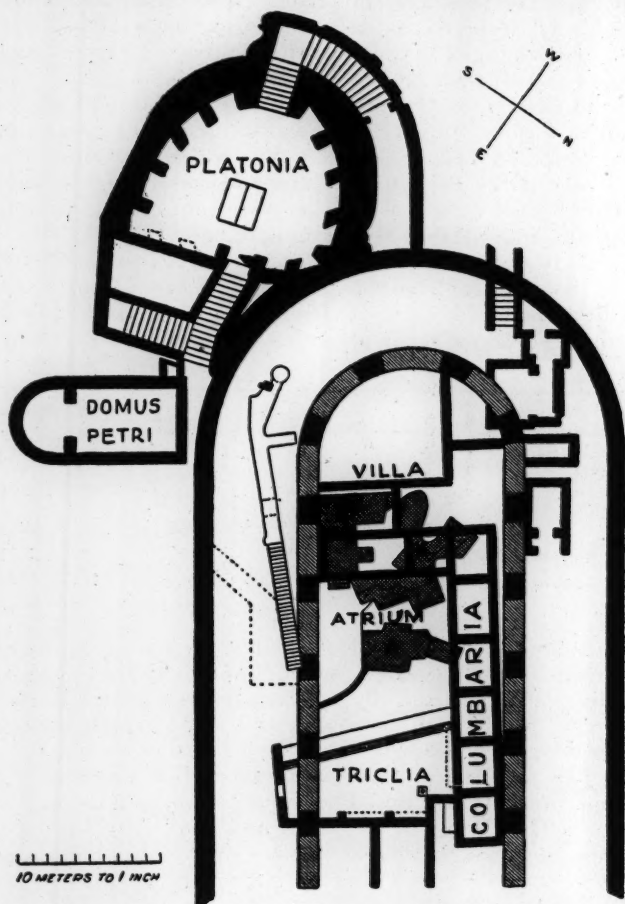
tion found at Milan* as a *signum*, that is, a group-name borne in addition to their personal names by the members of an association, which very often had a common burial-place.† The period at which the tomb which we are describing was used by the *Innocentii* is determined by the fact that their name is coupled with those of the Emperors Balbinus and Pupienius‡ (A.D. 238) as well as that of Gordian (A.D. 238-244); and that they belonged to the Imperial household may possibly be inferred from

* Dessau, 'Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae,' 8730.

† There are many examples both in pagan and Christian burial-grounds. It is a curious fact that the *signum* is always masculine in grammatical gender, even when applied to a woman.

‡ This, and not Pupienus, is doubtless the correct spelling.

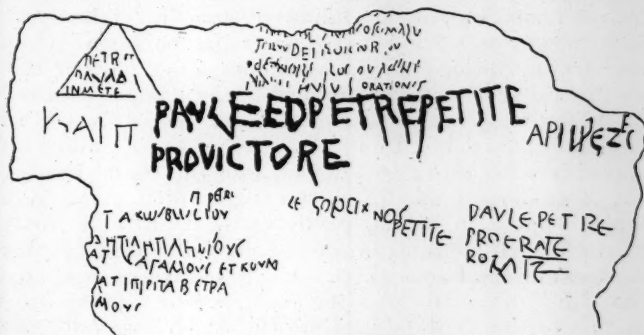
the pagan epitaph of Elpisius, 'the slave of Augustus,' found in the tomb. It is unfortunate that the massive foundation-wall of the basilica bars the way to the complete excavation of this region; but definitely Christian



epitaphs have come to light on the face of the rock adjacent to the tomb-chambers.

It is thus established that shortly before A.D. 250

Christians and pagans were buried side by side *ad catacumbas*; but about the middle of the third century a great change took place. The 'villa' was pulled down, the whole of the depression was filled up with earth, and on the level summit, abutting on the rear wall of the range of *columbaria*, were built a large open court or *atrium* with a colonnade, and a partly roofed chamber (see plan, p. 402) with seats running round three of its sides and a fountain. On its walls, which were decorated with fresco with one of the representations of a garden with flowers and animals so common in



Roman villas, are two hundred or more inscriptions scratched in the plaster, written both in Latin and Greek, which contain invocations of the Apostles Peter and Paul, e.g. PAULE ED PETRE PETITE PRO VICTORE,* and frequently refer to the rite of *refrigerium*; for example, PETRO ET PAULO TOMIVS COELIVS REFRIGERVM FECI or AT PAULO ET PET[ro] (i.e. *ad Paulum et Petrum*) REFRIGERAVI[mus]. The practice of partaking of 'refreshment,' i.e. wine, at the graves is well known to us owing to the abuses to which it led and the denunciations of the great Churchmen of the fourth century. It was combated by St Ambrose, St Zeno, St Paulinus of Nola, and above all by St Augustine, who speaks of *cometeriis ebrietates et luxuriosa convivia* with reference to the

* It should be noted that the order of names varies (as is shown in the examples cited above), so that no special pre-eminence is assigned to St Peter. The above diagram reproduces a section of the wall.

tomb of St Cyprian, and of those *qui se in memoriis martyrum inebriant*, and (what is more to the point) writes: '*De basilica beati apostoli Petri* (i.e. the Vatican basilica) *quotidianæ vinolentiæ proferebantur exempla*. The Christians were, of course, merely continuing (with the added intention of securing the advocacy of departed saints and martyrs) the practice of pagan families and burial-clubs. The editors of the 'Graffiti' have failed to draw the interesting parallel afforded by an inscription from Palestrina * which mentions a *memoria* set up by one Aurelius Vitalio for the association of the *Syncretatii*, whose *signum* he bore, and adds: '*Et hoc peto ego Syncretatius a vobis universis sodalibus ut sine bile refrigeretis: SYNCRATIOIVM*.' They have, however, borrowed from similar inscriptions the convenient name *trichia*; this we find (in various forms) applied to the arbours annexed for a similar purpose to pagan burial-places, which, as Lanciani has pointed out, must have been similar in appearance to the *osterie* which line the roads leading out of modern Rome. Now the *graffiti* of S. Sebastiano which appear to belong partly to the third and partly to the fourth century, imply the presence hard by of a *memoria* of SS. Peter and Paul. It has been suggested that this commemorated the residence of the Apostles in this region in their lifetime (in which case *habitasse* in the lines of St Damasus must be taken literally), or their temporary resting-place after martyrdom; but it is surely far more natural to interpret the facts with reference to the date of A.D. 258 given in the martyrologies, and to suppose that the repressive measures of Valerian (who prohibited Christian worship in the recognised cemeteries) led to a hasty transference of the bodies of the Apostles for fear of worse to follow. It is true that the precise resting-place of the bodies has yet to be identified, and it is much to be hoped that further exploration of the constructions adjacent to the *trichia* on the north-east will throw further light upon this point. It should be mentioned that from the *atrium* and *trichia* a flight of steps led down to a subterranean gallery tunnelled in the rock below the level of the chamber-tombs, which originally ended in a stuccoed

* Dessau, '*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectæ*,' 8090.

niche the sides of which were covered with *graffiti* similar to those of the *trichia*; this niche was at some time broken through and the tunnel continued as far as a well, the upper aperture of which is not far from the 'Platonía.' It would, however, be hazardous to affirm, as Marucchi is inclined to do, that the niche marked the spot where the bodies of the Apostles were concealed.

We cannot, of course, say for how long a period the precious relics remained *ad Catacumbas*; but they must have been retranslated when the Constantinian basilicas were built.* The *refrigeria*, however, continued to be celebrated until the *basilica Apostolorum* was built and the *trichia* with its adjacent structures were covered up. That this was the work of St Damasus—as the 'Liber Pontificalis' seems to show—is not disproved by the existence of a child's tomb bearing the date A.D. 356 or 357 in the floor of the basilica. It is possible, too, that St Damasus may have suppressed the *refrigeria*, which had no doubt led to the abuses censured by St Augustine, and constructed the double cenotaph of the 'Platonía' as a *memoria Apostolorum*; but the last word has perhaps still to be spoken on this question.†

What, then, may we infer from the recent discoveries, when interpreted in the light of the earliest traditions? Probably this much: that in A.D. 200 the Christians in Rome could point to graves *in pagan surroundings* in which, as they believed, SS. Peter and Paul had been buried close to the scenes of their martyrdom; that in A.D. 258 the bodies were removed from these graves to the site *ad Catacumbas* on the Appian Way, where Christians had for some time past owned places of burial; and that from this time on the rite of *refrigeratio* was practised *ad Paulum et Petrum*, even after the retranslation of the remains, until the *basilica Apostolorum* took the place of a more modest memorial.

* No stress can be laid on the 'forty years' of the 'Salzburg Itinerary' (see above, p. 400). The 'Liber Pontificalis' actually speaks of the retranslations as taking place during the papacy of Cornelius (A.D. 251-253).

† Dr La Piana ('Harvard Theological Review,' 1921, p. 53 ff.) and Mgr Barnes ('Dublin Review,' vol. 175 (1924), p. 15 ff.) incline to the belief that St Peter received hospitality from the owner of the ancient villa (to which the 'Platonía' may originally have belonged); and the latter writer puts forward a theory as to the history of the site which involves much that is conjectural and cannot here be discussed in detail.

Had the 'invention' of the supposed bodies of the Apostles been a pious fraud of the Constantinian age, it is hardly likely that it would have taken place except in one of the early Christian cemeteries.

For the sake of completeness a few words may be added concerning other discoveries made in recent years. The researches of Marucchi have led to a definite identification of the site *ad nymphas S. Petri ubi baptizabat* mentioned in the Passion of St Marcellus, which is also called the *cymiterius Ostrianus ubi Petrus apostolus baptizabat* in the Acts of St Liberius (the predecessor of St Damasus in the Papacy), and the *sedes ubi prius sedit Sanctus Petrus* in the parchment of Monza, which gives a list of the oils collected in vials at the tombs of the martyrs for the Lombard Queen Theodolinda. It was in the very early Catacomb of Priscilla, mentioned above (p. 394), as occupying part of a *villa* belonging to the Acilii Glabrones; and the *nymphæ* are to be recognised in the *piscinæ* found on that site, which appear to have been adapted for the baptismal rite. It would be rash to base an argument for the survival of a primitive tradition upon documents decidedly later than the Peace of the Church; but it is of interest to note that, as Mgr Wilpert has shown in his recent study of the representations of St Peter on Christian sarcophagi,* the striking of the rock by Moses (a prototype of Peter, as is shown by the legend PETRUS attached to the figure on certain glasses adorned with engraved discs of gold-leaf†) is found in at least seventy examples (one of which is as early as the second half of the second century A.D.), and has a symbolical reference to the rite of baptism. Nor would it be wise to lay stress on the typical portraits of the Apostles found on the monuments of Early Christian art; we could scarcely believe them to be traceable to contemporary works, and the type of St Peter is not in fact fixed. The discovery in 1919 of a richly decorated *hypogeum*, with a suite of tomb-chambers, in Viale Manzoni, aroused widespread interest, since it was said to contain a series of early full-length portraits of

* 'Studi Romani,' vol. III (1922), p. 140 ff.

† One of these gold-glasses, found at Podgoritz, has the quaint inscription 'Petrus virga perquodset (i.e. percussit): fontes eiperunt quorrere i.e. ceperunt currere).'

the Apostles. The monument, which dates from the early part of the third century, is indeed of outstanding importance for Early Christian art,* but the 'Apostles' are only eleven in number, and though two of the figures might pass muster as those of SS. Peter and Paul, the only conclusion which can safely be drawn is that Christian artists drew, as they were obliged to do, upon the *répertoire* of types common to the painters of their time.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to treat the question discussed according to those strict canons of historical criticism which scholars of the 20th century recognise, whether as generally valid or as specially applicable to the literature and material remains of the Early Roman Empire. Little, perhaps, has been proved in a positive sense; but the writer hopes to have made it clear that there are no cogent reasons for the assertion that the Christian community in Rome was wrong in revering as its founders Peter of Galilee and Paul of Tarsus.

H. STUART JONES.

* The strange mixture of Christian and pagan symbolism found in the frescoes suggests that the owners belonged to an unorthodox sect.

Art. 12.—THE GREAT ISSUE: SOCIALISM VERSUS CAPITALISM.

[TRADES Unionism and Communism occupy a large place in public interest to-day. The doctrines of the extremists are shouted from the housetops; assertion takes the place of argument, and some of the leaders are so busy rushing from place to place in their motor-cars and haranguing meetings that apparently they have but little time to study the questions in which they profess to be experts.

'Starvation' is a telling word to use to an uneducated mob, and those who vaguely talk of the existence or imminence of starvation as the result of 'Capitalism' do not hesitate to advocate a general strike which would with certainty cause starvation to thousands of their defenceless fellow-subjects who are outside the bounds of Trades Unionism.

The proceedings of the recent Congress at Scarborough show that there is still a strong force of that sound common sense which has always characterised the *bona-fide* British workman, but the organisation and method of voting which exist are hopelessly inadequate for present needs, and common sense can often hardly obtain a hearing when the Communistic element has 'captured the machine.'

The newspaper reports indicate that at the Scarborough Congress—from first to last—not one word of the greatest good of the greatest number was uttered. The welfare of the community at large is wholly ignored by men who claim that they will soon abolish or override Parliament. Such baseless statements as that employers are carrying on a determined campaign against labour, and that the Colonies are a form of Capitalist exploitation, were thrust upon a meeting which was incompetent to test and criticise them, even if the opportunity had been given—but this was denied. Mr Thomas, who could speak with authority, was hardly allowed a hearing. One strange delusion which seems to exist among these men is that they can continue to draw on the wealth of the community indefinitely without adding to it, and one speaker went so far as to thank God he had never saved a penny in his life when taunted with

being the owner of a house. This delusion lies at the root of the trouble at East Ham.

Trade with Russia is held out as a means to employment and wealth wantonly rejected by our Government and bankers. The Trades Unions command ample funds. Let them give guarantees for credits to Russia. This is a simple method of testing the sincerity of these assertions and proving their adversaries in the wrong.

The most imminent dangers were scotched not killed at Scarborough, and meanwhile large masses of the unemployed—the thriftless and the ignorant—are being led astray by a noisy and specious propaganda, instigated and financed by the deadliest enemies of Great Britain. In intrigue, in subtlety, and in unscrupulousness the Bolshevik is more than a match for the British workman—and it is the genuine honest British workman whom he is seeking to delude and to ruin, for he sees in him the greatest obstacle to the achievement of his revolutionary designs. The Communist, while holding out freedom as his aim, acknowledges no law save force and intimidation.

For this reason we make no apology for again setting forth some of the simple, basic facts of the case. The statement claims no new information: its purpose is to set forth in clear and simple language some of the facts on which our social structure rests, and coming as it does from one who has a lifelong personal experience of Trades Unionism, it is reasonable to hope that it may be useful to those who are defending our institutions. We would urge on the Government once more, as we have already done—the necessity of an intensive, unceasing campaign of Education and Explanation, as a generation is rising up which knows not the horrors of war, and is being sedulously and craftily misinformed by the enemies of their country.—ED. 'Q. R.']

The fallacies and falsities of Socialism have to be met with the hard facts of Capitalism, and combated by economic and political education, if we are to be saved from nationalisation and the ruin it would inflict upon our industries and trades. Apathy will not do. The schemes and arguments of the Socialists must be dealt with as the dangers they are. Socialism seems to many an attractive theory. It is a snare, a delusion, and a lie!

Against the Socialist theory that Capitalism is a failure the hard fact that the highest living standards are to be found where Capitalism is the most highly developed must be driven home. The living standard is far higher in Capitalist America than in, say, China, where Capitalism in the modern sense has not been cultivated, or in Russia where Capitalism was temporarily destroyed by the Revolution.

As the greatest issue of our time is Socialism *versus* Capitalism it is necessary to examine both systems, or theories, concurrently. What is this Capitalism that the Socialists want to destroy? Capitalism is the result of thrift, intelligence, and personal initiative applied to the development of natural resources and human skill. By capitalist enterprise tools are provided, production is increased, toil is lightened, distribution is accelerated, life is made better, leisure is made fuller, liberty is broadened, the choice of occupation and avenues of personal advancement are widened and lengthened, the number and variety of good things are multiplied—in a word, Capitalism is Civilisation.

Now, what is Socialism? Socialism is another word for stagnation, scarcity, suffering, and slavery. Socialism may be of two kinds—both fatal to human progress. Complete State ownership and control of industries would mean one employer, the State, and absolute submission to the decrees and orders of that employer. It would mean nationalised men and women. If Socialism is to have any sort of even a limited success, every trade, section, and person must submit to industrial conscription.

The other kind of Socialism—that called democratic or workers' control—could lead to nothing but chaos and anarchy. In so-called democratic Socialism there are two fatal defects. One is that the average man will not work so briskly or economically for a State concern as for himself or a private employer. Give the average man a secure post under a public authority, his wage plus a pension guaranteed, and he will lean back, take things easy, and become something of a jelly-fish. He will not study economy in materials, money, or time. The other big defect, as proved in Russia, is that the average man will usually vote for a glib-tongued fanatic,

or political clown, who makes empty promises of good things through votes and laws, rather than for the quiet, level-headed, honest man who truthfully says that the only way to real prosperity is by hard work. Democracy is a fraud in politics. It would prove disastrous in industry—more so in this country, abnormally dependent on international trade, than it has proved in agricultural and almost self-contained Russia.

If the tragic example of Russia is not enough to prove the unwisdom of complete Socialism—nationalisation without compensation, and the placing of industries under the control of committees of agitators—then let us turn to other examples. Take shipping. The shipping supremacy of Britain has been built up by private enterprise—by individuals risking their own fortunes, acting on their own initiative, unfettered by democratic committees or State officials. British shipping, which has done so much for the country and Empire, has not cost the nation a penny. It has contributed to the national revenue.

American State shipping has cost American taxpayers nearly 1500 million dollars, it is losing public money day by day, it cannot compete against the capitalist shipping of this or any other country, and the United States Government is at its wits' end to know what to do with its huge fleet of ocean white elephants. France lost enormously on its experiment with shipping. Canada, Australia, and Tasmania have lost heavily on their State ships.

Take mines. The German Government owned and operated a big group of mines many years before the War. Public money was spent. But those State mines never showed such good results as the capitalist mines in the same country. By no possible test—output, administrative economy, safety, labour conditions, or the selling of cheap coal—did they equal the private enterprise mines. Every report and audit showed worse results than the capitalist companies. Even Mr Smillie, after a special investigation, had nothing good to report about the nationalised mines of Germany.

The record was such that the new Government, formed after the War, would not venture to nationalise the rest of the mines, or any big industry. But demo-

cratic control was tried. The mines and coal trade were placed under a joint committee, representative of miners, owners, State officials, and coal consumers. There were endless conferences, debates, squabbles. Output declined. Costs went up. A special Commission appointed to investigate reported emphatically against the extravagance, the overlapping, and other faults. The Government has had to abolish the so-called democratic control, and place the industry under business management. Now there is progress. Germany is producing an abundance of cheap coal and developing her trade.

Take railways. British capitalist railways, like shipping, have never cost taxpayers a penny, but have contributed immensely to national and municipal finances and welfare. Indeed, it can be laid down definitely that under a system of Socialism neither Britain nor the world would ever have seen a railway. Every foreign State railway has cost taxpayers huge sums of money, and not more than one in five has yielded any profit. The State railways of France, of Canada, of Italy, and of most of the Latin American Republics are heavy money losers. Only this year France has had to make big advances in rates and fares to avoid an estimated deficit of over 1000 million francs.

Consider British experience for a moment. If our industries had been under State control we would have had no progress. The British Admiralty set its face against iron ships until private enterprise demonstrated the practicability of iron. The Admiralty would not at first believe that an iron ship could possibly be made to swim. It set its face equally against steam power until private enterprise compelled adoption. The British War Office would not even grant Henry Bessemer an interview to explain the virtues of his steel for guns or projectiles. Private enterprise has been responsible for every invention and discovery worth naming. Under Socialism, with its democratic committees in the country and its stiff-necked officials in London—under a system that would allow no man to save, or invest, or speculate, or use his time and talents as he liked, progress would stop, for inventors would have no money or materials or time of their own to experiment with. Bessemer was laughed at when he talked about making hot iron

hotter, and purifying it by blowing cold air through it. No democratic committee or State Department would have allowed him to go ahead, and so the world would never have had cheap steel for railways, ships, or bridges.

Take the Posts. Socialists often point to the Postal Service as proof that the State can manage things economically. They are mistaken. The history of the Posts is all in favour of private enterprise and against State ownership. The State did not start the letter-carrying business. The State did not start the Penny Post. Private enterprise carried a letter for a penny generations before the State did, when there were no railways, and when the highways were rough and hazardous. It was only when private enterprise railways came on the scene to do the major part of letter-carrying that the State was able to give a Penny Post. In the 17th century private enterprise collected as well as carried and delivered letters and parcels for a penny each. A London merchant named Dockwrah had messengers calling for letters in the city as many as nine times a day, and gave eight deliveries. Eventually the State stepped in, annexed the business, gave itself a monopoly on six main roads—those to Edinburgh, Plymouth, Holyhead, Dover, Norwich, and Bristol. It increased the minimum charge to 3*d.*, then set up a mileage rate, which brought the charge to 1*s.* for 300 miles, and having done this it carried letters posted at Plymouth for Bristol all the way via London—at so much per mile!

Socialists contend that our municipal trams, gas, electricity, etc., are practical and good examples of public ownership. There are two replies to this. First, even if all that is said in favour of these public utility services is true (which it is not), this would be no case for complete nationalisation, or Socialism. Side by side with these public utilities—these municipal monopolies—we have a thousand and one avenues for private enterprise, invention, progress, development. But the municipalisation, or nationalisation, of everything would stamp out private enterprise absolutely, and thus destroy the main-spring of human progress.

In the next place, these municipal enterprises are

founded upon private enterprise. Private capital is subscribed for them, and interest is demanded. Private enterprise alone gave us the inventions upon which these municipal utilities depend—cheap steel for tram rails, for instance. Again, the success of these utilities, such as it is, depends mainly upon monopoly. If municipal trams had to construct the roads they use, what sort of balance sheets would they show? Municipal gasworks have had to be built at the public cost. Yet in one city, where we have private enterprise gas (Sheffield), the works have cost the public nothing, besides which the public gets cheaper gas than in cities where the municipality supplies it.

Yet again, the success of public utilities is largely due to the knowledge of the practical business men who serve on the councils. Give us democratic control—place the gasworks under committees of gas-stokers, the trams under the tram-men, and so on, giving these committees, or workers, the power to fix their own wages and hours, and the price of the services—and see where we would be! It would be Russia over again—stagnation.

Now turn to the measures offered by Socialists as remedies for our current troubles. The coal trade is depressed. The Socialists offer a Mines Nationalisation Bill. The owners of collieries are to receive State Mines Stock in return for their present holdings. The amount would be just about 121,000,000*l.* Interest is to be paid on that. In other words, the owners are to be pensioned off, at the public cost. They will draw just about as much when relieved of all responsibility as they get now. The State is to pay for all valuations, for the process of nationalisation, pay interest on the new Stock, pay all the administration expenses, and for all fresh development work. The capitalists are not to be permitted to put any of their money back into industry. The public is to pay for everything.

There is to be a new Mines Department, fully staffed; there are to be pit committees, area and county committees, national commissioners, etc., etc.—all paid by the taxpayers. This one Socialist Bill means the appointment—and payment—of 50,000 fresh officials and committeemen, whilst the dispossessed practical owners draw

their interest for doing nothing. Again, the various committees, elected by the miners—the men who promised the most would get the most votes—these bodies are to have almost unlimited power to run into any expense they choose; even the supreme Mining Council is to be subject to the dictates of the Miners' Federation; and finally, whilst the public, through the State, is to stand all the cost, it is to have no effective voice against the Federation Executive, and the miners are to be free to strike as and when they like. If Russia cannot make a success of mines nationalisation without compensation—with the properties as free gifts, debt and interest free—and not subjected to foreign competition as we are, it is daylight clear that in our case nationalisation with compensation would spell bankruptcy and the ruin of our vital export business. The Socialists, having seriously injured our trade by strikes, by 'ca' canny,' by short hours and limited shifts, would kill it completely by their mad nationalisation schemes.

As Sir Henry Maine pointed out, Demos—a mob—'has no volition.' It cannot originate a policy; make an invention or a scientific discovery; work out a problem, or organise a business. These are the things which in all ages have advanced the welfare, prosperity, happiness, and amusements of the people; they have all come from individual minds, and the incentive to them has been a personal motive—wealth or self-preservation. If this incentive is removed, as it would be under the Communistic ideal, Society would stagnate, and progress would cease. Under such a regime 'the threshing-machine, the power-loom, the spinning-jenny, and possibly the steam engine would have been prohibited,' and, if there were any doubt on this point, the Russian Soviet would prove the truth of it.

E. T. GOOD.

* Sir H. Maine, 'Popular Government,' p. 98.

Art. 18.—SOME RECENT BOOKS.

A Hindu Mystic and a Royal Reformer—Savage Life in Central Australia and the South Seas—Principles of the Constitution—The Human Christ—Lyrics of the Eighteenth Century—The History of Art—Fiction by Mr Walpole and the Countess Russell—Fables in Verse.

THE happiness of the multitudinous races of India is so necessary a condition of the success of the British Commonwealth of Nations, justifying the ideals of our unique imperial system in bringing a sense of joint citizenship and ordered liberty to its many diverse peoples, that two books which have come to us from India are unusually welcome; for literature is the golden high-road to understanding, and it is only through a sympathetic exchange of thought and the appreciation of each other's ideals that the almost unbridgeable differences between the East and the West can be overcome.

No small measure of the misunderstandings which have occurred between Asia and Europe is due to the peculiar diversities of their religions, culture, and thought, as well as to the difficulty of apprehending fairly points of view so opposite. The 'Life of Sri Ramakrishna' (Advarta Ashrama, Calcutta) introduces the reader to an unique spiritual personage. Many of the actions of this Hindu reformer bring to mind Francis of Assisi and the late General Booth; for besides an easy-going habit of brotherliness, he had a sense of humour and fun unusual to successful leaders in religion, and frequently was applying the test of a mirthful common sense to the assertions or affectations of his followers. Born in 1836—miraculously, of course, for every outstanding Indian religious light must have divine parentage on the paternal side, and generally be the offspring of a dream—Ramakrishna, whose name at that time was Gadadhar, was soon displaying those extraordinary manifestations of trance and adoration which denote the most absolute and influential of the mystics of the East, and won for him an immediate attention. He had something of the precocity of genius, and throughout his life used song, dance, and the drama as expressions of worship. To Western minds, who see in a spirit of service the

sublimest indication of the divine wisdom and love, the Hindu doctrine of renunciation, in which the devotee withdraws into himself and rejects the world, seems but a partial ideal, a broken light; but it is not fitting in this summary manner to judge the good purposes of people whose conditions of life and thought are so far removed from our own. Whether or not his methods were the best for Ramakrishna to adopt, there is no question of the success of his mission. He sweetened life for many.

The book has been written with an unbridled devotion and more slips of English slang than should have been permitted, as they disturb the appeal; but yet, out of these many words the figure of Ramakrishna emerges as, with all his unaffected saintliness, helpfully human. His love of sweetstuffs, his simplicity and naïve humour, his extraordinary faculty for losing himself, almost accidentally at any odd moment, in the ecstasies of trance, combine to make him a living person, a true man, with the becoming weaknesses of normal humanity; but that is not all, for in spite of his eager Hinduism and passion for Kali, the divine Mother, a goddess with characteristics not beautiful to our Western notions, he had the gift of an exalted charity and an unusual breadth of mind. Brahmin as he was, he studied Islam sympathetically, and followed the teachings of Christ. 'The Lord is one,' said he, 'but he is called by a thousand names'; and through a parable he showed how water, though known to Hindus as Jal, to Mahomedans as Pani, and to the English as water, is one and the same thing, the difference being in name only. 'Some call Him Allah, some God, and others designate Him as Brahman, Kali, Rama, Hari, Jesus, or Durga.' Such a large-hearted ideal, coming from the simple mind of an Indian priest, is remarkable, and shows that with all the extravagances of his creed, as they seem to us, Sri Ramakrishna belonged to the salt of the earth and the company of saints.

We pass from a leader of Indian mystics to one of practical social service. It is a pity that Prof. Latthe in his 'Memoirs of H.H. Shri Shahu Chhatrapati, Maharajah of Kolhapur' (Times Press, Bombay) did not mend his volumes with a vigorous blue pencil before

publishing them, for their interest—and the work has much interest—would have been vastly improved if many pages of dreary detail and insufferable quotations from formal documents had been cut out or aptly summarised. Shahu Chhatrapati was a reformer who set himself to break down the intolerant caste system, which, exploited by a priestly clique, was a tyranny, strangling the people. As with Akhnaton of Egypt, who ages before had endeavoured to do much the same thing, the enemy was promptly roused and entirely unscrupulous and vicious. The Maharajah had to fight a long and bitter battle; but, more fortunate than the idealist Pharaoh, he was not beaten. He countered prejudice with enlightenment; instituted compulsory education, established colleges, founded industries, and took care to give opportunities for social usefulness to the so-called 'untouchable classes,' appointing men of all grades of caste to positions of responsibility in the State and in his private household. Before his premature death, he had been able to defeat the Brahmin obscurantists; but it remains to be seen whether his departure will enable them to recover their earlier powers. The story at Prof. Latthe's disposal is so admirable an illustration of princely great-heartedness that it might be well, even now, for these volumes to be reduced by half and the residue treated with an inspiring pen. At present, the work is rather a dusty tumulus than a vital monument to one whose humanity and devotion to duty were of striking worth.

Too many of the books which deal with the racial characteristics and tribal customs of primitive peoples are addressed to specialists; and, therefore, not acceptable to the general reader. For that reason, the two volumes which follow prove unusually welcome. The first on '*Savage Life in Central Australia*' (Macmillan) by Dr G. Horne and Mr G. Aiston, gives at first-hand information on the condition and habits of the Australian aborigines. Although comparatively brief, the work is a luminous study of a race of mankind in the crude beginnings, as is the more interesting because Sir Arthur Keith has declared that, 'of all the races of mankind now alive, the aboriginal race of Australia is the only one which, in my opinion, could serve as a common

ancestor for all modern races.' Probably a number of the tribes of Central Africa and South America are as stunted in body and mind as these decadents of Central Australia; but evidence shows that the Blackfellow of these regions has deteriorated in recent generations, for while he constructs stone implements and throws his weapons precisely as his father had taught him, he is positively afraid to initiate an improvement. Superstition is the bogey, the tyranny, which curbs and destroys his powers. He dare not be original. The attempt would be uncanny. It would bring dark disaster. Hence the atrophy and retrogression. He is generally the equal of his fathers in the things they practised; but for the rest has gone backward. The writers detail numerous instances of native powers and cleverness, suggesting that a strong personality prevailed in these races until dearth, drought, and the struggle of very hard life in the sunburnt wilderness, as well as the curse of witchcraft, lowered their mental and spiritual fitness. The book has a wide scope. One curious detail is shown in the existence of fresh-water crabs, survivals of the lost ocean which once on a time beat and swept across this vast region of red rocks, starved vegetation, and blistering sand.

It is interesting to turn to the record of Dr W. Ramsay Smith's wanderings as a naturalist '*In Southern Seas*' (Murray), for, after studying the Kanaka in New Caledonia, he approaches the Australian aboriginal from an angle other than that of the writers of the foregoing book. He looks at the Blackfellow generally, though also with a good deal of scientific particularity, and finds him on the whole a finer specimen of humanity, physical, mental, and spiritual, than those of the central regions seem to be. His native ingenuity remains wonderful, his nature lore supreme. He will track an opossum by its claw-marks on a tree-trunk, or by observing the flight of mosquitoes if no claw-marks are visible; he will decoy pelicans within his reach by imitating the jumping of fish by splashing the water with his fingers; he will swim up to the ducks with grass round his head and pull the birds one by one under the water, breaking their necks and letting them float till he has enough; he will catch a bee, stick a piece of feather or

down on it, let it go, and follow its flight until he finds its hive and honey. In brief, as the author says, he will find abundance and live at ease where a white man would starve. Dr Ramsay Smith's book should certainly be read with that preceding it in this review, as it is bright, witty, well-informed, and yet has a serious import; for repeatedly he draws attention to the fact that civilisation and its clothing mean deterioration, with disease and death, to the sometimes noble savage. His photograph of Nildally of the Murray River, the bearded lady, is almost too curious to be believed.

From the general to the particular; from anthropological details to historic principles. The assertion that the Constitution of this Kingdom and the Dominions associated therewith is not 'written' is but partially true; for, in fact, it is expressed in thousands of documents—statutes, decrees and resolutions of Parliament. This point is demonstrated in a useful little book, *'Some Historical Principles of the Constitution'* (Philip Allan), written by Mr Kenneth Pickthorn. Although the author has to quote the authorities and show, through this political crisis or that, how a further constitutional principle was established, he has managed to secure a lucid brevity for his large subject, packing a deal of information into moderate space. Through the changes wrought by Parliament and the gradual, modifying interpretations of laws in the Courts, the British Constitution is usefully elastic and capable of convenient transformation to meet a new necessity, as often was required during the War; thereby, showing an advantage over that of the United States where, once written down, the Constitution is as iron, inflexible, almost unamendable, and therefore liable to evasions, as the recent addition to it relating to Prohibition seems to show. Mr Pickthorn traces the development of the British Constitution from the beginning of our national settlement, and leads up to the sovereignty and 'omni-competence' of Parliament, with the responsibility of ministers, acting through cabinet government, and the general rule of law. How the power once in the sole possession of the monarch has gradually been distributed over the electorate, although he remains the recognised chief, is well brought out in a volume which

is at once free from 'fine writing' and from that easy, opposite bugbear, blue-bookishness.

Since the 'nineties, when the Rev. Charles Sheldon produced 'In His Steps,' and Mr W. T. Stead followed with 'If Christ Came to Chicago,' and gave a mild sensation to the gossips of the religious world, America, in particular, has provided a number of books emphasising, in a free and familiar manner, the human aspects of Jesus of Nazareth. Mr Bruce Barton's 'The Man Nobody Knows' (Constable) follows in that fashion. Its earlier part is excellent, as it brings out admirably that side of the personality of Christ which superstition and a morbid religiousness have implicitly denied him—his joy of life, his laughter, qualities which he must have possessed if he were to win, as he did win, the hearts of the children and of the everyday multitude. Hosannah could never have been sung to a killjoy. But such texts as 'Jesus wept,' with no corresponding statement of his having laughed, and the tremendous story of the Crucifixion, bringing out the tragedy, agony, and grief, have tended to deepen the apparent darkness of his earthly life. Mr Barton is able to show, through such episodes as the turning of the water into wine at the marriage in Cana (by the way, with such an example confronting them, how can the Fundamentalists of Tennessee be Prohibitionist?) that here was a sociable and joyous spirit, far removed in his ordinary hours from the Man of Sorrows. The second part of the book is not so excellent; for the author, in his evident admiration for 'push,' suggests that Jesus often was cheap. He details the headlines of an imaginary 'Capernaum News,' which tell sensationally of the healings of the sick and the restoration of the dead. No, that will not do. To talk of Christ as an 'outdoor man' is permissible; but the chapter entitled 'His Advertisements,' making him out to be a provider of 'stunts,' is to misunderstand as well as to belittle the sublimest being who has walked this earth. Joy, yes; but not vulgarity.

A volume of graceful expression and entertaining thought, which should not be overlooked, as is easily possible through its not encouraging title, is 'Forgotten Lyrics of the Eighteenth Century' (Witherby), compiled and commented on by Mr Oswald Doughty. Of

all periods of time none was more sophisticated and sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought than those hundred years; and the poetic gladness, the inspiration, out of which the songs of the heart arise, is little likely to spring when the mind of man is too knowing. It was the age of reason, of industrial revolution; a period of frank inquiry, combined with a hidden dread, into the mysteries and inexorable realities surrounding this mortal life. Although the lovely sincerities of William Blake, as his 'Songs of Innocence,' sang themselves into permanence in that century, they were rather the exceptions than the rule, as, indeed, was he, that poet, with his visionary genius and passion of flame. The lyrics of the age, like the headgear and costumes, were carefully ordered and artificial. They belonged to the cult of the peruke and went with the nice conduct of a clouded cane, as well as with the convention, the affectation, the sentimentality, which made every young woman a shepherdess, a rogue in porcelain. Damon or Colin was for ever sighing, though never dying, whatever he may have said, for Chloe and Phyllis and Daphne. Here is a characteristic stanza, a specimen of myriads of the kind:

'And you, my companion so dear,
Who sorrow to see me betrayed,
Whatever I suffer, forbear,
Forbear to accuse the false maid.
Though through the wide world I should range,
'Tis in vain from my fortune to fly;
'Twas hers to be false and to change,
'Tis mine to be constant and die.'

But, of course, he did not die. Lovers did not easily even damp their amorous feet in the 18th century; for, with all the foppishness and the poetic sighings, it was an age of excellent roast beef and bottles of red wine, admirable preservatives against the green sicknesses of love. Mr Doughty asserts that in their appreciation of nature the poets were far behind the painters of the time—Constable, Gainsborough, and Wilson. Possibly; but he must not compare the 'forgotten' with the established. Burns and Cowper were lyrical poets of that century who for treatment of nature and the

human heart are worthy to be co-mates of the painters he names, and even a little more so.

It is to be regretted that Mr H. B. Cotterill did not live to witness the publication of his elaborate, well-informed, and bounteously illustrated 'History of Art' (Harrap); for no small measure of the reward of the devoted student comes with the actual launching of the enterprise. To see the dear labour of years in its completed glory, challenging the enjoyment and the thoughts of men—it is better than rubies. Well, that has been denied to him; but he had the satisfaction of knowing, from the success of the first volume, that the work was already accepted as of high standard in workmanship and authority. Its scope is comprehensive. To describe and illustrate the growth and development of Art, from the achievements in architecture, painting, and sculpture of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, until the middle of the 19th century; traversing continents and having regard to such important artistic eras as the Greek, the Roman, the Italian; with the extraordinary influence of the Church intervening, to dominate, inspire, and sometimes mislead the workers in the arts; passing through the national schools of Spain, France, Holland, Germany, and England, with a supplementary impression of what Asia was doing indirectly to help forward the artistic culture of the West, entailed a prodigious endeavour, which Mr Cotterill realised successfully. He has marshalled his instances admirably, has written his text with point and grace and a restraint rarely broken. Indeed, on the few occasions that he has erred through falling into a flippancy, it is the more noticeable because of the dignity and charm of his general utterance, as when, in describing the garish exterior of Milan Cathedral, he compares it to 'a Liszt fantasia in white marble,' which is extravagant, and in treating, with an undue want of sympathy, Goya's brilliant gift of satire, revealing 'the brute within the man,' he instances a similar tendency in a 'well-known British painter of to-day.' True as the fact may be; why, in this placid and large-minded review of the age-long history of Art, drag in the pygmies?—especially as one result of his massive survey is that, while it brings out the greatness and infinite beauty of the works of the

past, it implicitly destroys the claims to consideration of the noisy little people, the trumpeting modernists, who endeavour to disguise their incompetence under an appearance of eccentricity.

Two novels. 'The Old Ladies' (Macmillan) is in Mr Hugh Walpole's lesser style. He has painted a simple picture in quiet colours on a small canvas, and the result is attractive. The story belongs to the department of his fiction which he calls 'Scenes from Provincial Life,' and is placed in Polchester, the city of his 'Cathedral.' The ladies are three, septuagenarian; the only occupants of sets of rooms in a decayed house, where they suffer the loneliness and privations of respectable poverty, and yet are well looked after by Mrs Bloxham, a charwoman of a type unusual to fiction, though not to life. Generally, the charladies of a novelist's invention are tiresome; being either determinately comic or stupid; but Mrs Bloxham is a human, natural angel of the house, the kindly guardian of the old ladies. Without her what would they have done? —Mrs Amorest, the faded widow of a feckless poet, whose only son is away until at the right moment he returns to bring relief; Mrs Payne, the villainess of the piece, whose vulgarity of soul and inherited charlatanry make her a thing of crude terror to the third of this trio, Miss Beringer. A naughty creature is that Agatha Payne, greedy and violent of mind, though excused to the charitable reader because we are told that she was somewhat queer in the head. She had inherited, possibly from a gypsy forefather, a passion for colour, and to procure a piece of red amber, the dearest treasure of poor May Beringer, she plays unpleasant pranks, using card-tricks and tappings on the wall to terrify the old spinster. It is rather a pity that Mr Walpole, when devising his story, did not compel her in the hour of her answering panic to restore to the corpse the treasure which her greed and cruelty had procured. One slip he must correct in a new impression. 'The Carpenter's Shop' was painted by Millais, and not by Holman Hunt.

The second novel is written by the Countess Russell, under her familiar *nom-de-plume*. Her gifts of subtle comedy, of gentle irony, and delectable character-drawing, while deserving the widespread appreciation they

have won, do not always suit her subject; as is the case with '**Love**' (Macmillan); for, as she develops her theme, the mating of manly twenty-five with feminine forty-seven, she sets free a tragical spirit which, like the djins of Eastern legend and the Frankenstein monsters of the West, proves a force too powerful to be brought back to the proper discipline. The first part of her story is comedy and delightful. The characters are deftly realised and convincing, especially the three who are subordinate to Catherine and Chris—the pompous, limited clergyman, who is no new figure in fiction, his appropriate mother, Mrs Colquhoun, and Virginia, the pale, dull daughter-wife. With the second part of the novel, however, darker considerations intervene and the conviction weakens. Brought to the inevitable test, Catherine ages too easily; and her desperate appeals to complexion-mongers and beauty-doctors do not seem true to her type. The joyous admirer of '**The Immortal Hour**,' whose personality won for her a young lover, would not so rapidly have succumbed to the lure of the lip-stick. It is a pity that Lady Russell did not reverse the customary treatment of an over-wrought theme by pitting mature and prudent womanhood against crude but charming youth, and willy-nilly have kept him loyally and gladly. In such a conflict the majority of Catherine's, with their wit and personality, which are not slaves to time, would surely have been victorious.

Mr. Edward Marsh has produced a jolly little book with his translations of '**Forty-two Fables of La Fontaine**' (Heinemann). In every instance he gives the well-known story, written in free-and-easy but yet sufficient verse, and tags on at the end his own moral, improving upon the necessary, or inevitable, platitudes of the original versions. His titles are fresh enough, as '**The Hag and the Slavies**' or '**Cat into Lady**'; while his dedications, for every fable has its particular titular deity, add piquance to the dish. For example, he tells us the story of '**The Mountain in Childbed**,' which brings forth a mouse; and concludes in this manner—

'If I think upon this fable
(Which, though untrue in point of fact
Has yet a bearing most exact)—

I see an author at his table
Saying, "I am about to sing
The war the Titans waged against Heaven's King."
It sounds extremely promising;
But when the book comes out, what do we find?
Mere wind.'

INDEX

TO THE

TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH VOLUME OF THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

[Titles of Articles are printed in heavier type. The names of authors of
articles are printed in italics.]

A.

Acton, Lord, criticism of 'John
Inglesant,' 131, 136.
Africa, South, War, 170.
Agate, James, 'The Contemporary
Theatre,' 216.
Agricultural Institute at Oxford,
work of the, 247.
Agricultural Returns for 1921..194.
Aircraft, question of the abolition,
50.
Aiston, G., 'Savage Life in Central
Australia,' 418.
Allbutt, Sir Clifford, death, 170—
'The Use of the Ophthalmoscope,'
186.
Allen, Carleton Kemp, "'Movies"
and Morals,' 313.
Altham, Capt. E., 'The Next Naval
Conference,' 41.
**America, The Classics in England
and,** 95-114.
Anæsthesia, discovery of, 173.
Apostles in Rome, The, 385-407.
Arable land, number of acres, 194.
Arabs in Palestine, attitude, 370-
374.
Armaments, limitation, 44.
Army, British, reduction, 41.
Ashley, Sir W. J., criticism of Mont-
chrétien, 351.

Aston, Francis, Secretary to the
Royal Society, 232.
Aubrey, John, 'Brief Lives,' 133,
135, 140.
Australia, Immigration Agreement,
93—American films in, 323.
Avicenna, 'Hymn to the Soul,' 80.

B.

Bacteriology, science of, or the study
of germs, 173-177.
Baldwin, Rt Hon. Stanley, Prime
Minister, 21.
Balfour, Earl of, opens the Hebrew
University in Palestine, 366.
Balzac, Honoré de, on the charms of
France, 266.
Banting, Dr F. G., discovery of in-
sulin, 185.
Baring, Cecil, 'To a Lady of Quality,
with a Mirror,' 273.
Barrés, Jean Baptiste, 'Memoirs of
a Napoleonic Officer,' 213.
Barton, Bruce, 'The Man Nobody
Knows,' 421.
Battleships, limitation in size and
number, 44—result, 51.
Bennet, Christopher, 'Health's Im-
provement, or Rules for Preparing
all sorts of Food,' 234.
Bensusan, S. L., 'Suggestions for
Farmers,' 238.

- Berkeley, George, 1st Earl of, member of the Royal Society, 231.
- Bing, Li Ung, 'Outlines of Chinese History,' 310.
- Blair, Dr Hugh, 'Critical Dissertation,' 331.
- Blake, William, 'Songs of Innocence,' 422.
- Bodenstedt, F., translation of Omar Khayyám, 63.
- Bolsheviks, the, relations with the Mensheviks, 158—treatment of peasants, 166 *note*.
- Books, Some Recent, 209-218, 416-424.
- Brentano, M. Funck, 'Traité,' edited by, 347, 351.
- Broadbent, Henry, 'Leviora,' 268, 271—'To a Lady of Quality, with a Mirror,' 273—versions of nursery rhymes, 274.
- Brouncker, Viscount, President of the Royal Society, 228.
- Browne, Prof. E. G., 'Year amongst the Persians,' 72—'Chahár Maqála,' 81 *note*.
- Bryce, Viscount, 'The Pleasantness of American Life,' 255—'Uniformity of American Life,' 256.
- Burns, Robert, 'Cottar's Saturday Night,' 79.
- Burton, Robert, 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' 133, 135, 137, 141.
- Burt, Prof. Cyril, 'The Young Delinquent,' 328.
- Butler, Samuel, version of Mrs Gamp's speech, 269.
- Byng, L. Cranmer, 'The Golden Age of China,' 294.
- C.
- Cambridge, biochemical laboratory at, 179.
- Campbell-Bannerman, Rt Hon. Sir Henry, refuses to give Lord Curzon a peerage, 18.
- Capitalism *versus* Socialism, The Great Issue, 408-415.
- Carroll, Lewis, 'Jabberwock,' 270.
- Censorship of films, 315.
- Century of Medical Progress, A, 170-189.
- Charles II, King, characteristics, 226—grants a Charter to the Royal Society, 227.
- Chamberlain, Houston Stewart, 'Richard Wagner,' 123.
- Chesterton, G. K., 'Wine, Water and Song,' extract from, 268.
- Chicago boys, case, 325.
- China, The Golden Age of, 294-312.
- 'Chinois, Mémoires concernant l'Histoire Des,' 294.
- 'Cinema, The, its Present Position and Future Possibilities,' 313.
- Circulatory system, 183.
- 'Classics in Education, The,' Committee on, 97.
- Classics in England and America, The, 95-114.
- 'Classics, The Value of the,' 98.
- Clennell, Walter J., 'The Historical Development of Religion in China,' 307.
- Clerk, Rev. Archibald, 'Ossian' poems, edited by, 339.
- Coke, Desmond, 'The Bending of a Twig,' 26, 27.
- Colonies, French classification, 94.
- Colwall, Daniel, Treasurer of the Royal Society, 231.
- Communists, number in Great Britain, 150.
- Conference, The Next Naval, 41-51.
- Confucius, career in China, 296—sayings, 296-298.
- Cotterill, H. B., 'History of Art,' 423.
- Creed, John, member of the Royal Society, 232.
- Crimean War, 170.
- Crop-Drying Machine, invention of, 242-244.
- Cruisers, construction, 47.
- Currency, the term, 282.

Curzon, George, 1-22.

Cushion, Dr Harvey, 'Life of Sir William Osler,' 170.

D.

'Dartmoor Days,' lines from, 62.

Dean, Sir Anthony, member of the Royal Society, 230.

Debussy, C. A., 'Pelléas et Mélisande,' 129.

Denmark, number of holidays, 201.

Dessau, 'Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae,' 401 *note*, 404 *note*.

Diabetes, treatment by insulin, 115.

Disraeli, Rt Hon. B., saying of, 190.

Doughty, Oswald, 'Forgotten Lyrics of the Eighteenth Century,' 421.

Dufferin and Ava, Marq. of, 'Letters from High Latitudes,' 274.

E.

Eastbourne, murder at, 326.

Ellison, Bernard, 'The Prince of Wales's Sport in India,' 209.

Empire Settlement Falls, Where, 82-94.

England and America, The Classics in, 95-114.

'England's Black Tribunal,' 133, 143.

Ent, Sir George, President of the College of Physicians, 235.

European Life, The Pleasantness of, 255-266.

European War, 170.

Evelyn, John, Diary, 133, 144, 145—tribute of Samuel Pepys, 237.

Exchanges, Foreign, meaning of the term, 282—criticisms on, 288—result of fluctuations, 290.

F.

Fanshawe, Lady, Diary of, 133, 142.

Farmers, Suggestions for, 238-254.

Father of Political Economy, The, 346-360.

Feetham, Mary, verses on, 276.

Fenellosa, E. F., 'Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art,' 302.

Ferrar, Nicholas, Life of, 133.

Films, censorship, 315.

Fisher, Prof. Irving, on a substitute for gold, 288.

FitzGerald, Edward, 'Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám,' 63, 65.

Fleming, W. K., 'Some Truths about "John Inglesant,"' 130.

Foot and Mouth Disease, cost of epidemics, 253.

Foreign Exchanges, meaning of the term, 282—criticisms on, 288—result of fluctuations, 290.

Fox, The, 52-62.

France, relative strength of battle-ships, 45—cruisers, 47-49—creation of a peasant proprietary, 207—characteristics, 266—result of the issue of inconvertible notes, 286—number of picture theatres, 321.

Fraser, G. M., 'The Truth About Macpherson's "Ossian,"' 331.

Fraser, Dr John, opinion of Macpherson's 'Ossian,' 340.

G.

Gale, Dr Thomas, Dean of York, member of the Royal Society, 230.

Gasset, José Ortega y, 'Mediaciones,' 123.

Germany, result of nationalised mines, 411.

Giles, Herbert, 'Confucianism and its Rivals,' 294.

Giles, Lionel, 'The Sayings of Lao Tzu,' 294—'The Sayings of Confucius,' *ib.*

Glanvill, Joseph, 'Philosophical Considerations touching Whitches and Witchcraft,' 237.

- Godlee, Sir Rickman, 'Life of Lord Lister,' 171.
- Godley, A. D., lines from, 272.
- Gold Standard, *The*, 278-293.
- Golden Age of China, *The*, 294-312.
- Good, E. T., 'The Great Issue: Socialism *versus* Capitalism,' 408.
- Gordon, Douglas, 'The Fox,' 52.
- Gosse, Sir Edmund, 'Short History of English Literature,' 130.
- Graham, David, 'Common Sense and the Muses,' 215.
- Grant, Mrs., 'Letters from the Mountains,' 336.
- Great Britain, relative strength of battleships, 45—cruisers, 47-49—result of the emigration of skilled workmen, 84—number of unemployed, 85—of Communists, 150—need for a sound monetary system, 278—issue of currency notes, 281, 286.
- Grenfell, Commander Harold, member of the Delegation to Russia, 154.
- Greyhound, hunting a fox, 54.
- Griffin, Reginald, ode to a friend, 275.
- H.
- Halley, Edmund, member of the Royal Society, 231.
- Hamilton, George Rostrevor, 'The Soul of Wit,' 217.
- Hardy, Dr E. G., 'Christianity and the Roman Government,' 385.
- Harvey, William, discovery of the circulation of the blood, 171.
- Health, Ministry of, result, 177.
- Hebrew University in Palestine opened, 366.
- Henry IV, King of France, administration, 349.
- Henshaw, Nathaniel, member of the Royal Society, 230—'Aero Chalinós,' *ib.*
- Heron-Allen, E., translation of Omar Khayyám, 63.
- Hight, George Ainslie, 'Richard Wagner, a Critical Biography,' 115, 124.
- Hill, Abraham, member of the Royal Society, 230.
- Hobbes, Thomas, 'Leviathan,' 133, 140.
- Hoffmann, E. T. A., on the value of music, 123.
- Hooper, Wynnard, 'The Gold Standard,' 278.
- Horne, Dr G., 'Savage Life in Central Australia,' 418.
- Hornung, E. W., 'Fathers of Men,' 26, 27.
- Hoskins, Sir John, President of the Royal Society, 229, 231.
- Hudson, W. H., 'Nature in Downland,' 56.
- Hungary, the Green Revolution, 261.
- Hunter, John, surgery, 171.
- I.
- Index Numbers, use of, 287.
- 'Inglesant, John,' Some Truths About, 130-148.
- Inglesant, Richard, 'Priory in the Wood,' 134.
- Injurious Weeds Order, neglect of, 252.
- Insane, treatment of the, 112.
- Insulin, injections f, 185.
- Issue, *The Great: Socialism versus Capitalism*, 408-415.
- Italy, relative strength of battleships, 45—cruisers, 47-49—result of the issue of inconvertible notes, 286.
- J.
- James, H. R., 'Our Hellenic Heritage,' 106.
- James, Henry, 'The Portrait of a Lady,' 266.

Japan, relative strength of battle-ships, 45—cruisers, 47-49.

Jenner, Dr Edward, centenary of his death, 171.

Jews, number of, in Palestine, 375—knowledge of farming, 376.

Jones, H. Stuart, 'The Apostles in Rome,' 385.

Juvenile Courts, number of convictions, 328.

K.

Kenyon, Sir Frederic G., 'The Classics in England and America,' 95.

Keynes, J. M., 'The Economic Consequences of Mr Churchill,' 285, 289—opinion of foreign exchanges, 288.

L.

Landowners' Association, the Central, memorandum, 200.

Land Settlement Act, result, 238.

Land, The, and the Nation, 190-208.

Lathe, Prof., 'Memoirs of H.H. Shri Shahu Chhatrapati, Maharajah of Kolhapur,' 417.

Lausanne, Treaty of, 21.

Laveran, Alphonse, discovery of the malarial parasite, 174

'Legacy of Greece,' 106—'of Rome,' *ib.*

Leslie, Shane, 'The Oppidan,' 28-31.

Lietzmann, Hans, 'Petrus and Paulus in Rome,' 385.

Lister, Dr Martin, member of the Royal Society, 231.

Lister, Lord, researches on anti-septic surgery, 171—Life of, *ib.*

Living in Western Europe, low cost, 262.

Livingstone, R. W., 'The Greek Genius,' 106.

London, restoration of a free gold market, 292.

'London, Spy, The,' 214.

Lubbock, Percy, 'Samuel Pepys,' 219, 236.

Lully, G. B., evolution of Music Drama, 118.

Lyell, T., 'The Ins and Outs of Mesopotamia,' 76 *note*.

M.

McDonell, A. R., member of the Delegation to Russia, 154—'Social,' 165.

Macedonia, land settlement of the refugees, 235.

Machinery, use in agriculture, 240, 249.

Mackail, J. W., 'Latin Literature,' 106.

McKernan, Maureen, 'The Crime and Trial of Leopold and Loeb,' 325 *note*.

MacLachlan, Ewen, 'Ossian' poems, edited by, 339.

McLauchlan, Rev. Thomas, 'Ossian' poems, edited by, 339.

Macpherson, James, 'Fingal,' 333, 337—'Temora,' 333, 337—'Fragments of Ancient Poetry,' 334.

Macpherson's 'Ossian,' The Truth About, 331-345.

Maine, Sir Henry, 'Popular Government,' 415.

Malaria, measures for the prevention, 175.

Malcolm, D. O., 'Musarum Nugæ,' 267—versions of nursery rhymes, 275.

Malcolm, Sir Ian, 'George Curzon,' 1.

Mansfield, Robert Blachford, 'School Life at Winchester,' 40 *note*.

- Manson, Sir Patrick, Father of Modern Tropical Medicine, 174.
- Marchant, Sir James, 'The Cinema in Education,' edited by, 313.
- Marsh, Edward, 'Forty-two Fables of La Fontaine,' 425.
- Marshall, Alfred, on the use of the term money, 279—'Money, Credit and Commerce,' 282.
- Mears, Eliot Grinnell, 'Modern Turkey,' edited by, 211.
- Medical Progress, A Century of, 170-189.
- 'Mercure François,' memoir of Montchrétien, 347.
- Meredith, Roger, member of the Royal Society, 232.
- Merrill, Prof. Elmer, 'Essays in Early Christian History,' 386 *et seq.*
- Meyer, Prof. Edward, 'Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums,' 385.
- Millais, John G., 'Far Away Up the Nile,' 210.
- Mining industry,' 411.
- Mitchell, Sir James, Community Settlement Scheme in Western Australia, 89.
- 'Modern Turkey,' 211.
- Money, meaning of the term, 279—primary use, *ib.*—issue of paper notes, 281.
- Montchrétien, Antoyne de, 'Traicté de l'Economie Politique,' 346, 353-360.
- Morals and 'Movies,' 313-330.
- Moray, Sir Robert, first President of the Royal Society, 237.
- Morgan, General J. H., 'Life of Viscount Morley,' 14.
- Morley, Viscount, characteristics, 14.
- Motor tractors, result of ploughing with, 240.
- Moussorgsky, 'Boris Godonov,' 128.
- 'Movies' and Morals, 313-330.
- Mowat, R. B., 'The Pleasantness of European Life,' 255.
- Mozart, 'Zauberflöte,' 119.
- Musarum Nugæ, 267-277.
- Musgrave, William, member of the Royal Society, 231.
- Music Drama, and Richard Wagner, 115-129.

N.

- Nation, The, and the Land, 190-208.
- Naval Conference, The Next, 41-51.
- Navy, British, safeguarding the Empire, 43.
- Nervous disease, study of, 180.
- New South Wales, the Million Farms scheme, 86.
- Newman, Ernest, 'Richard Wagner, as Man and Artist,' 115 *et seq.*
- Newspapers of Western Europe, 264.
- Newton, Sir Isaac, 'Principia,' 230.
- Nicholas II, Tzar of Russia, abdication, 156.
- Nichols, Robert, 'The Future of the Cinema,' 320 *note*.
- Nicolai, Colonel W., 'The German Secret Service,' 212.
- Nicolas, J. B., translation of Omar Khayyám, 63.
- Notes, result of the issue of inconvertible, 283, 286.
- 'Notizie degli Scavi,' 396.

O.

- Omar Khayyám, 63-81.
- Ophthalmoscope, invention of the, 186.
- Osler, Sir William, Life of, 170.
- 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome,' 106.
- Oxford, Agricultural Institute at, work of the, 247.

P.

- Page, Walter Hines, on the charm of European life, 266.
- Palestine — Yesterday and Tomorrow**, 361-384.
- Paré, Ambroise, surgery, 171.
- Pares, Sir Bernard*, 'The Trades Union Report on Russia,' 149.
- Parker, Eric, 'Playing Fields,' 31-40.
- Parkin, Dr, 'Life of Thring,' 27.
- Pasteur, Louis, centenary of his birth, 171.
- Peasantry of Western Europe, 260.
- Peckard, 'Life,' 133, 138.
- Pember, F. W., 'To a Lady of Quality with a Mirror,' 273.
- Pepys, Mr, as a Man of Science and President of the Royal Society**, 219-237.
- Perowne, Teddy, lines on, 273.
- Pickthorn, Kenneth, 'Some Historical Principles of the Constitution,' 420.
- Picture theatres, number of, 313.
- Pleasantness of European Life, The**, 255-266.
- Plumer, Lord, High Commissioner of Palestine, 372, 382.
- Political Economy, The Father of**, 346-360.
- Pompen, Father Aurelius, 'The English Versions of the Ship of Fools,' 214.
- Portman, Lionel, 'Hugh Rendal,' 26.
- Postal service, 413.
- Powell, J. V., lines on Herodotus, 272.
- Power, Sir d'Arcy, 'An Address on the Medical History of Mr and Mrs Samuel Pepys,' 223.
- Priestley, J. B., 'The English Comic Characters,' 216.
- Psycho-analysis, form of, 182.
- Public School Stories**, 23-40.

Purcell, A. A., member of the Delegation to Russia, 152.

R.

- Radium, use of, 187.
- Railway industry, 412.
- 'Ramakrishna, Life of Sri,' 416.
- Ramsay, A. B., 'Ros Rosarum,' 268, 271—version of 'Humpty Dumpty,' 274.
- Ranke, L. von, 'Lives of the Popes,' 133, 145.
- Rats, destruction caused by, 249-251.
- Rats and Mice Destruction Act, 250.
- Reclamation of land, process, 90.
- Robertson, Alexander, 'The Life of Sir Robert Moray,' 219.
- Rogers, Thorold, lines on 'Proclus, or the Lawyer and his Fee,' 270.
- Rolland, Romain, 'Musiciens d'Autrefois,' 118—'Jean Christophe,' 120.
- Rolleston, Sir Humphry*, 'A Century of Medical Progress,' 170.
- Rome, The Apostles in**, 385-407.
- Ross, Sir Ronald, discoveries on the prevention of malaria, 174.
- Royal Air Force, 41.
- Royal Society, origin, 226—grant of a charter, 227—members, 227, 230—Presidents, 227-230.
- Russell, Bertrand, 'The Problem of China,' 294.
- Russell, Countess, 'Love,' 424.
- Russia, result of Socialism, 411.
- Russia, The Trades Union Report on**, 149-169.
- Rutenberg, Mr, concessions in Palestine, 370.

S.

Saint-Simon, M., resemblance to Montchrétien, 350.

- 'Salzburg Itinerary,' 400, 405 *note*.
- Samuel, Sir Herbert, High Commissioner of Palestine, forms an Advisory Council, 362.
- Scarborough Congress, 408.
- Shadwell, A.*, 'The Father of Political Economy,' 346.
- Sheldon, Rev. Charles, 'In His Steps,' 421.
- Shipley, A. E.*, 'Mr Pepys as a Man of Science and President of the Royal Society,' 219.
- Shipping industry, 411.
- Shorthouse, Joseph Henry, 'John Inglesant,' 130-148.
- Sidebotham, Herbert, 'Awakening Palestine,' 361.
- Simon, Leon, 'Awakening Palestine,' edited by, 361.
- Simpson, Sir James Y., discovery of the use of chloroform, 173.
- Skellton, Noel*, 'The Nation and the Land,' 190.
- Slare, Dr Frederick, member of the Royal Society, 230.
- Small-holdings, value of, 197, 201-203—demand for, 198—ladder-farms, 202—cost, 203—on estates, 205—result of the Act of 1908..238.
- Smith, Adam, 'Wealth of Nations,' 351, 353.
- Smith, Dr W. Ramsay, 'In Southern Seas,' 419.
- Smith, G. Gregory, Introduction to 'The Diary of Samuel Pepys,' 219.
- Socialism versus Capitalism: The Great Issue*, 408-415.
- Some Recent Books, 209-218, 416-424.
- Some Truths about 'John Inglesant,' 130-148.
- Sorel, Albert, 'L'Europe et la Révolution française,' 266.
- Sprat, Tho., Bishop of Rochester, 'The History of the Royal Society of London,' 219.
- Starkie, Walter*, 'Richard Wagner and the Music Drama,' 115.
- Stead, W. T., 'If Christ Came to Chicago,' 421.
- Stein, Leonard, 'Zionism,' 376.
- Strauss, Richard, operas, 128.
- Submarine, question of the abolition, 49.
- Subsoiling, experiments on, 247-249.
- Suggestions for Farmers, 238-254.
- T.
- Tabular Standard, meaning of the term, 287.
- Tel-Aviv, development, 378.
- Thomas, Sir W. Beach*, 'Where Empire Settlement Fails,' 82.
- Thyroid gland, disease of the, 184.
- 'Tom Brown's Schooldays,' 24—'at Oxford,' 25.
- Trades Union Report on Russia, 149-169.
- Transfusion of blood, experiments with, 233.
- Truth About Macpherson's 'Os-sian'*, The, 331-345.
- Tuberculosis, treatment of, 178.
- Turberville, George, 'Booke of Hunting,' 133, 137.
- U.
- Ulpian, treatise, 'On the Duties of a Proconsul,' 395.
- Unemployed, number of, 85—remedies, 86.
- Unionist Party, policy, 207.
- United States—relative strength of battle-ships, 45—cruisers, 47-49—work of the Federal Reserve Board, 286, 289—result of holding an enormous mass of gold, 289-291—number of picture theatres, 320—result of over production, *ib.*—influence

in Australia, 323—cost of State shipping, 411.

V.

Vaccine treatment, introduction of, 174.

Vachell, H. A., 'The Hill,' 26, 27.

Vansittart, A. A., version of the 'Jabberwock,' 270.

W.

Wagner, Richard, and the Music Drama, 115-129.

Wales, Report on Education, 109.

Walker, Mr, Secretary to the Royal Society, 232.

Wallace, Sir Robert, on the evil effects of the picture palaces, 328 *note*.

Waller, Mr, Secretary to the Royal Society, 232.

Walpole, Hugh, 'The Old Ladies,' 424.

'War Communism,' the phrase, 159.

Ward, A. W., 'Life of Henry More,' 133, 140.

Warre, Dr E., Headmaster of Eton, 39—portrait, *ib*.

Washington Treaty, 41—result, 44.

Waugh, Alec, 'The Loom of Youth,' 28.

Weber, Carl, operas, 119.

Weeds, noxious, annual loss from, 251.

Weir, Rev. T. H., 'Omar Khayyám,' 63.

Weld, Charles Richard, 'A History of the Royal Society with Memoirs of the Presidents,' 219.

Wellesley, Marq., 'Primitiæ et Reliquiæ,' 268, 277.

Wells, H. G., 'The Outline of History,' 299.

West, Dr Andrew F., Dean of the Graduate College of Princeton University, 98—campaign on behalf of the classics, *ib*.

Western Australia, process of reclamation of land, 91.

Where Empire Settlement Fails, 82-94.

Whinfield, E. H., translation of Omar Khayyám, 63, 71.

White, Sir Cyril, President of the Royal Society, 229.

Williamson, James A., 'Europe Overseas,' 87.

Williamson, Sir Joseph, President of the Royal Society, 229.

Wind Motor, invention of, 244-247.

Wood, Antony à, 'Athenæ Oxoniensis,' 133, 134, 135.

Woods, N. Charles, 'Palestine—Yesterday and To-morrow,' 361.

Wordsworth, William, Ode on 'Intimations of Immortality,' 80.

Workmen of Europe, 261.

'World's Manuals, The,' 106.

Worsfold, W. Basil, 'Palestine of the Mandate,' 361.

Wren, Sir Christopher, President of the Royal Society, 229.

Wright, Sir Almroth, introduction of vaccine treatment, 174.

Wright, Thomas, 'Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries,' 133.

Wyche, Sir Cyril, member of the Royal Society, 231.

X.

X-rays, discovery of, 187.

Y.

Young, George, member of the Delegation to Russia, 154—'Govern-

mental,' 165—'Report on Labour Conditions' and 'Political,' *ib.*

Z

Zimmern, A. E., 'The Greek Commonwealth,' 106.

Zionism, agricultural policy, 376.

Zionist Congress, Vienna, 372, 384.

END OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH VOLUME.

